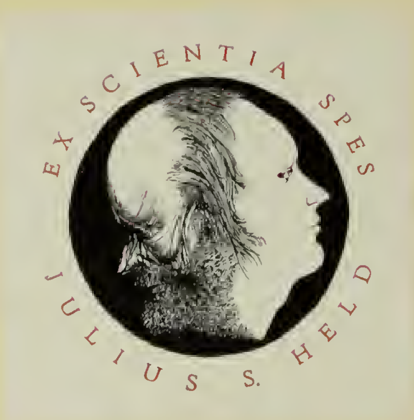
Lacks plates 81 and 82 (replaced with reproductions)

Bought [illegible] Galleries, # [illegible]



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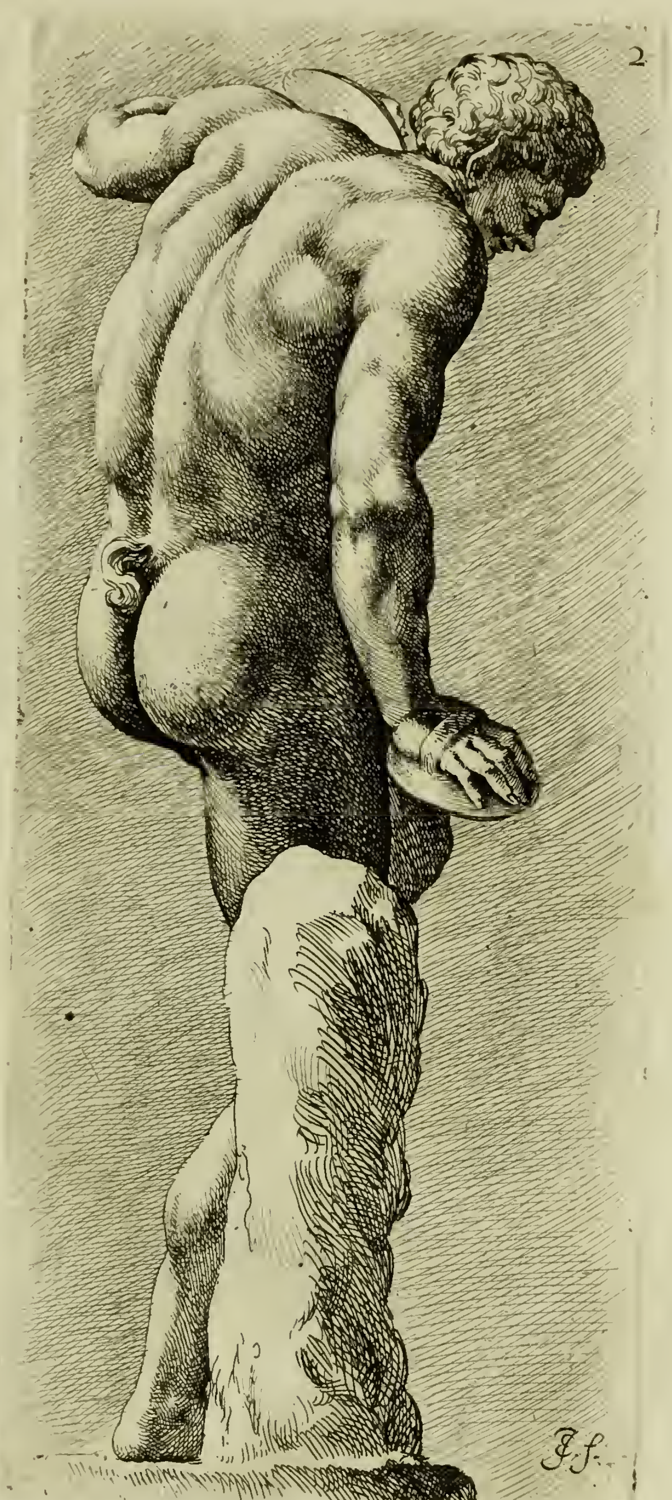


Prys, der tweede Classe
in het Kunstbeoefenend Genootschap
onder de Zinspreuk
Kunstmin en Vermaak.
toegewezen aan den Heer
H. G. Ament.
1809.

Hs: Fock
R. Vinkeles Janz:
Directeuren.

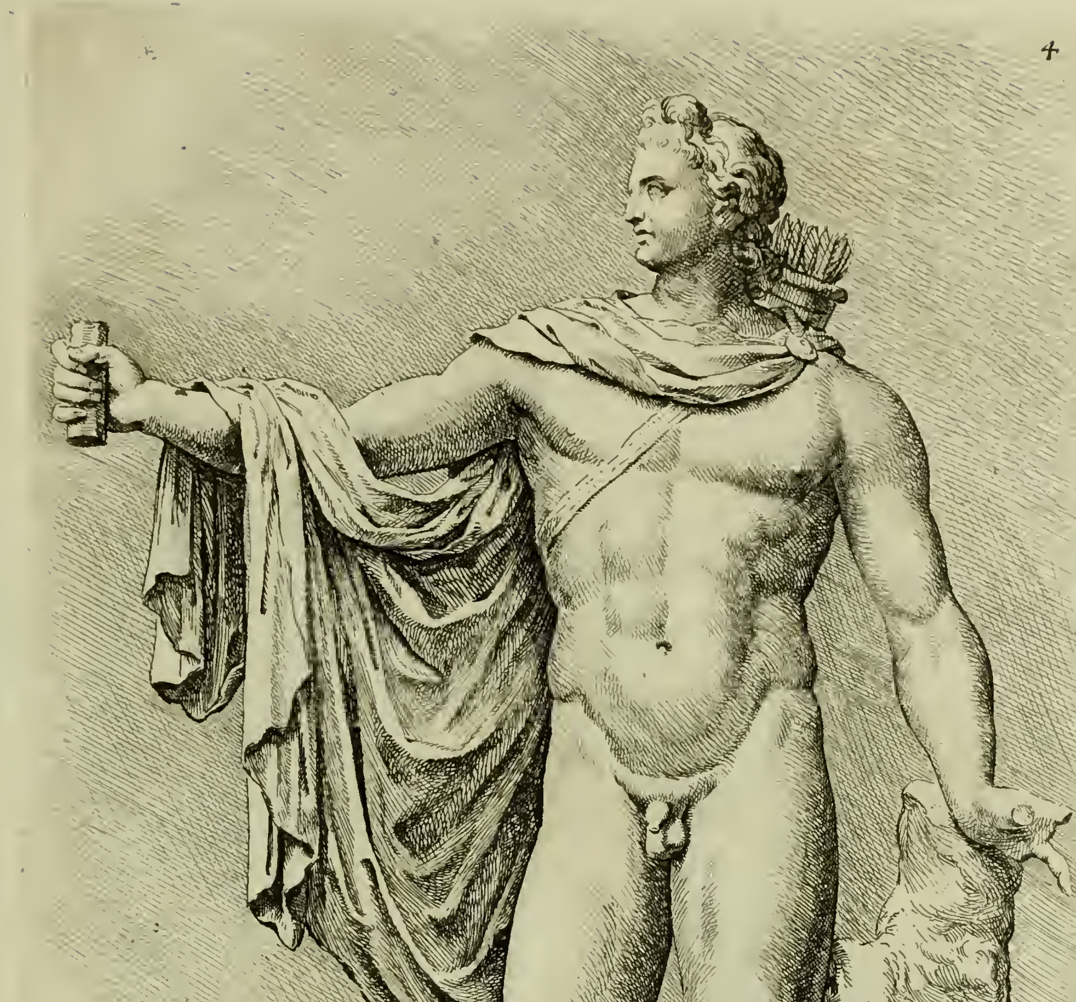
1




2
F.f.

3

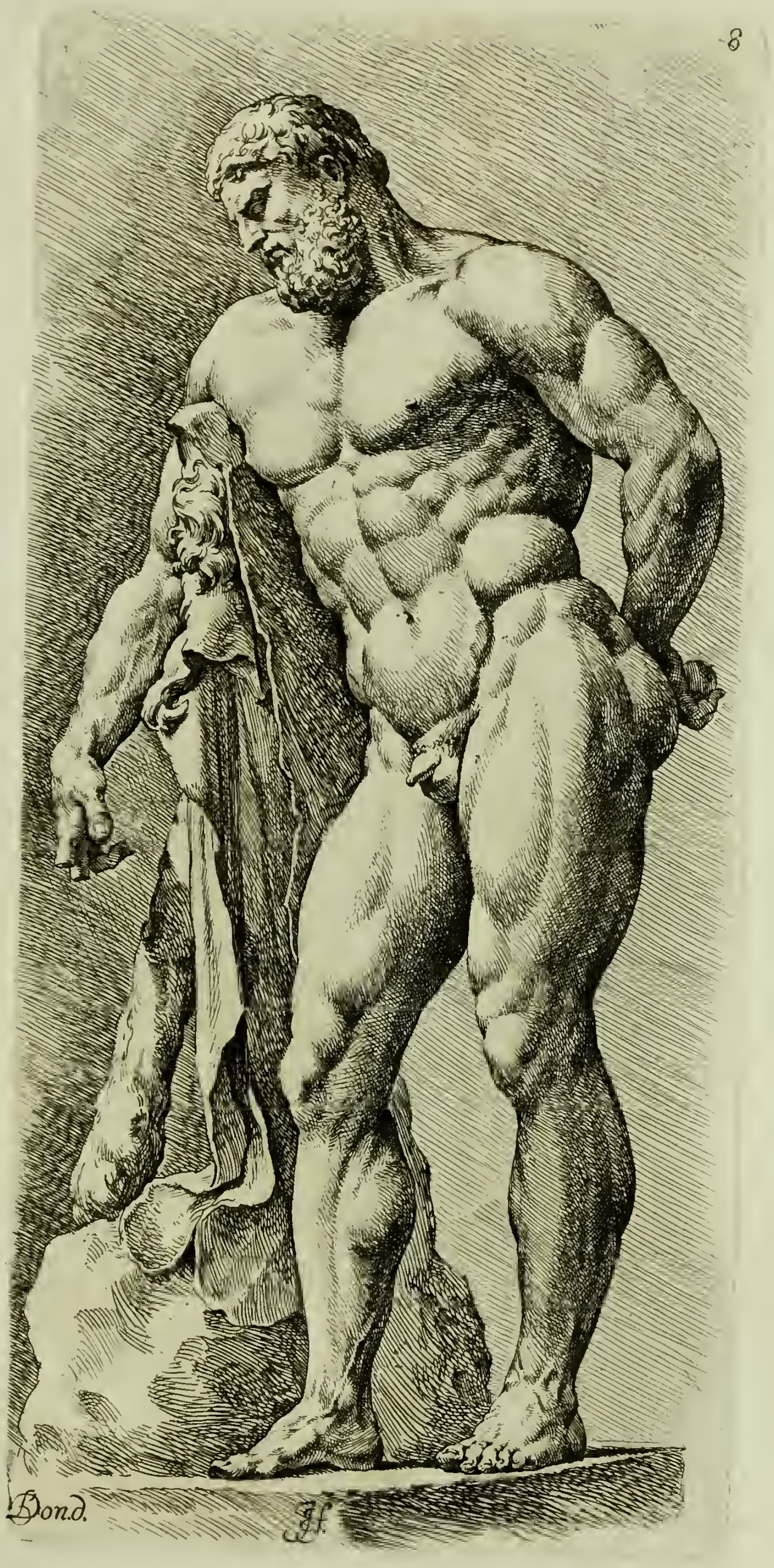



P. P. Doncker del.
J. f.


Boudyns del. & f.


Doud.d.
J.f.


7
Boud.d.

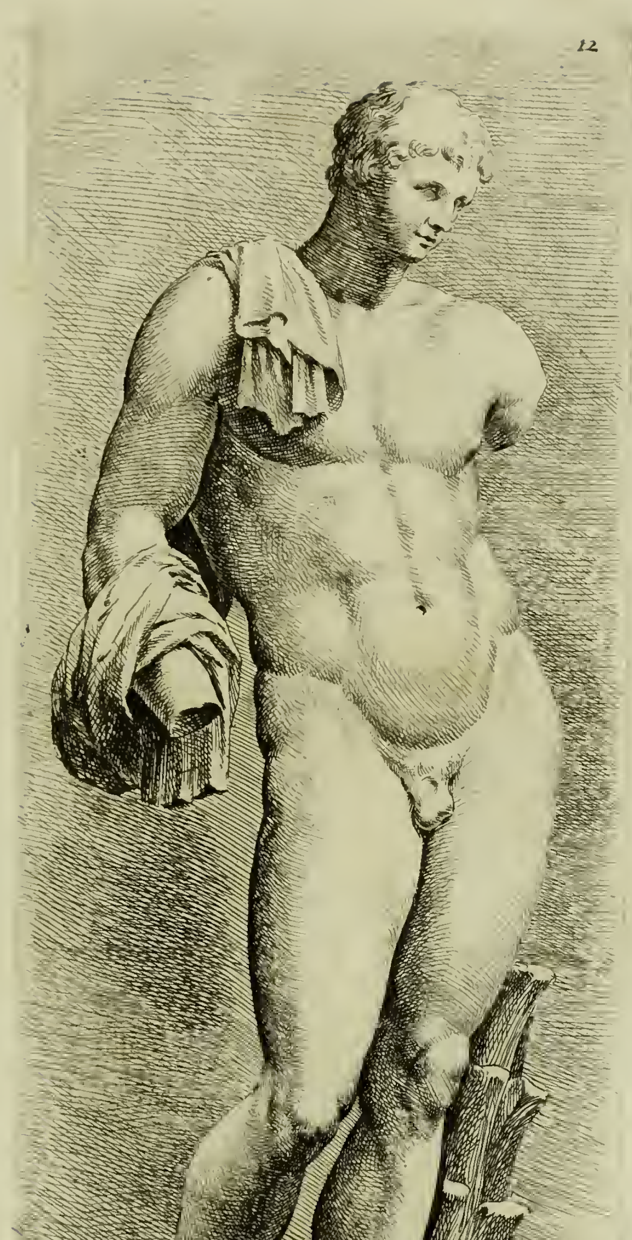

8
Bon.d.
JH.


J.Matham d.

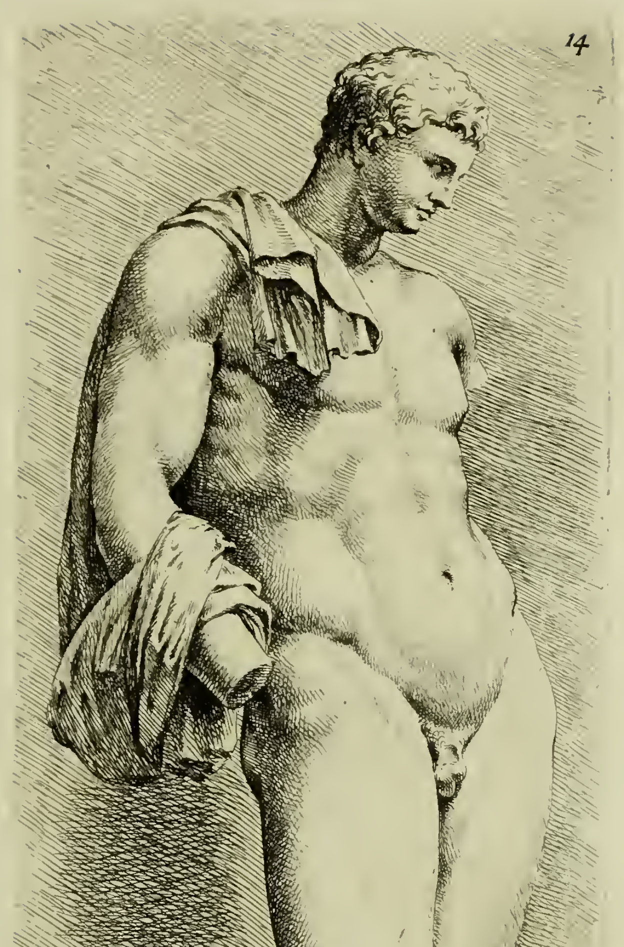
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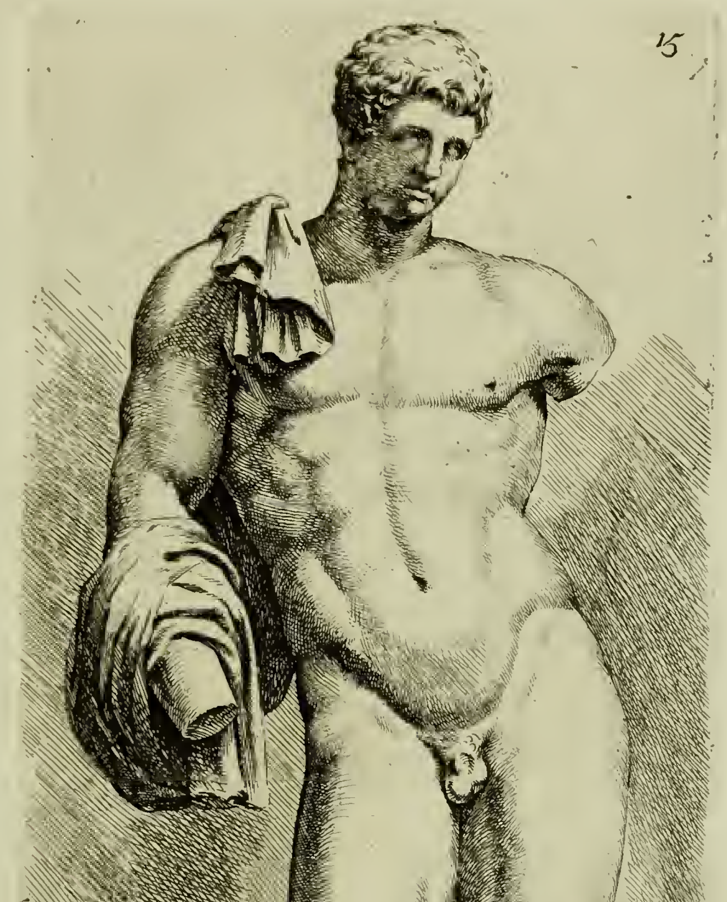



Boud. d.
J. f.




13
Doud. d.
Jf.


14
Doudd.
JEf.


15
Don.d.



reversed

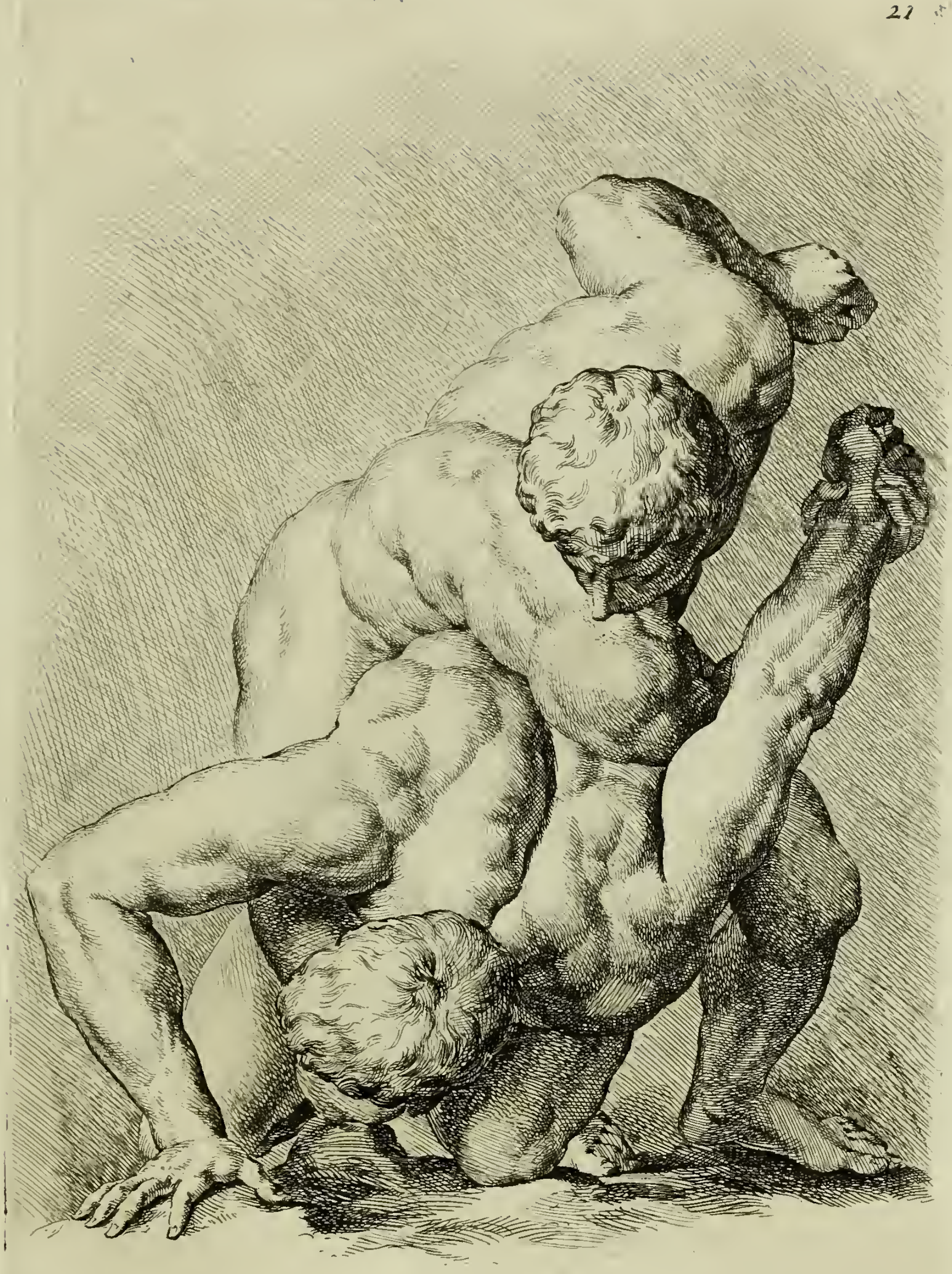

Doud. d.
J. f.


18
Neefs d.
F.f.


Don d.
J. f.

20

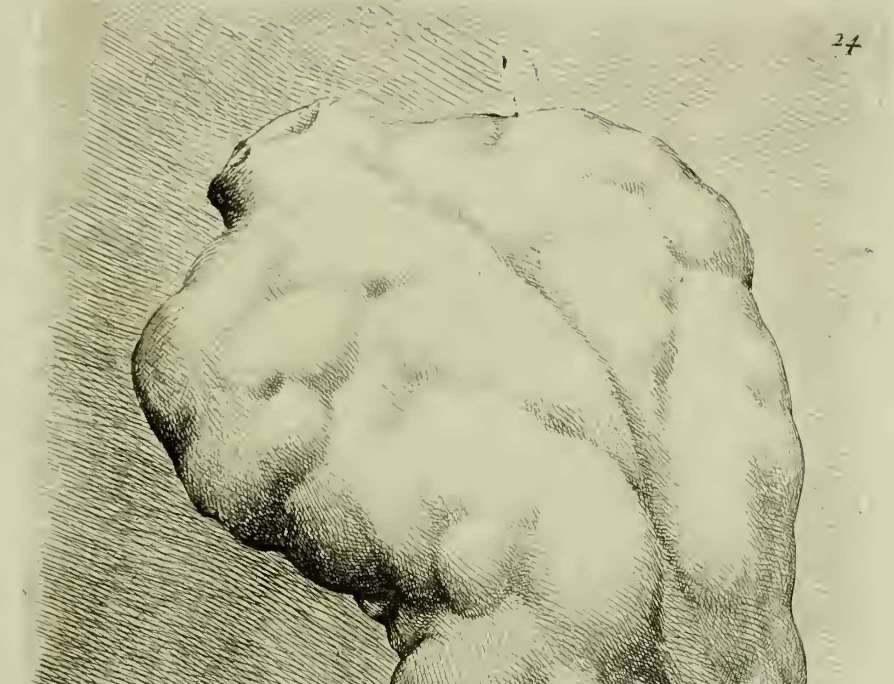




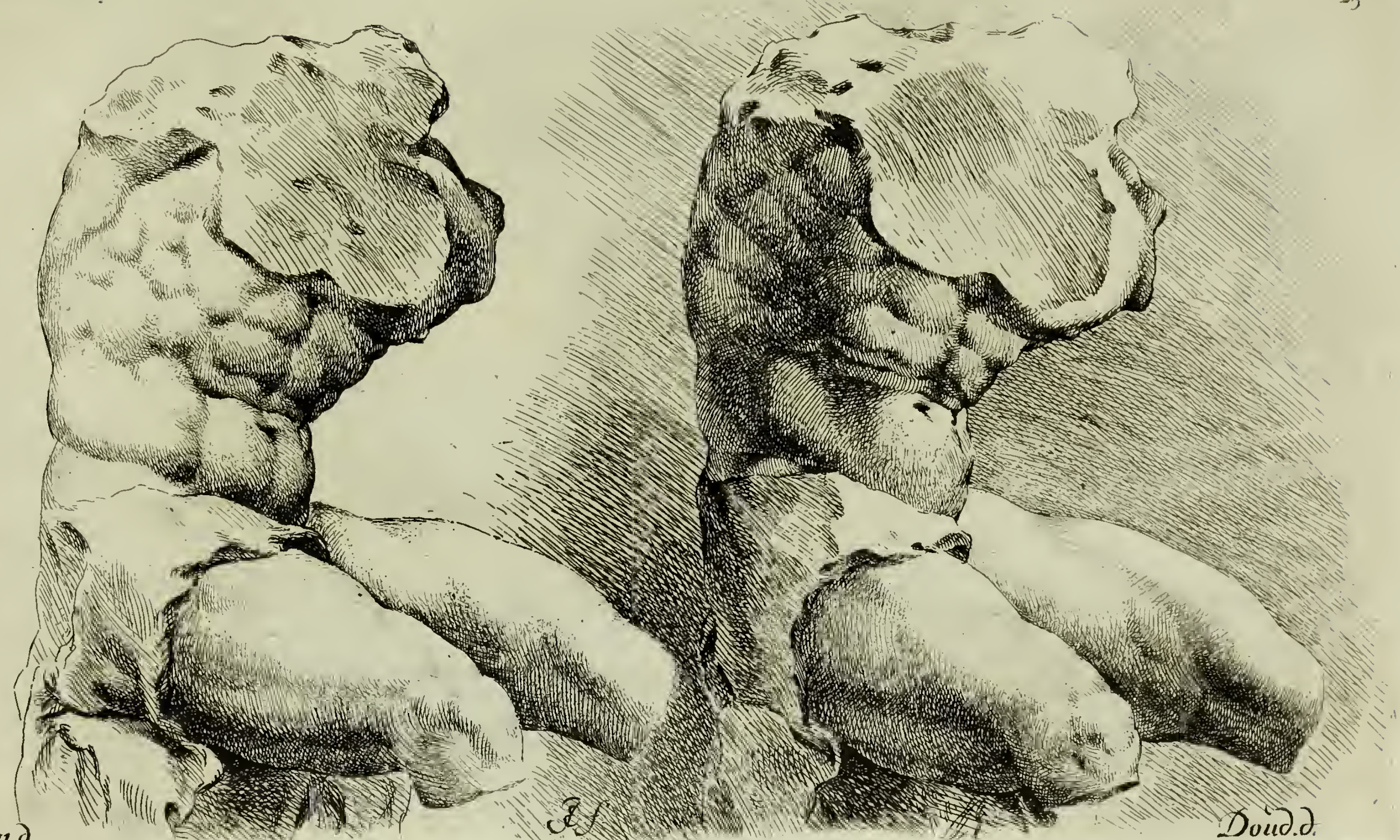
Backer d. J.f.


Don.d.
F.f.


Doud.d.
G.f.



Don. d. J. f.



Dou.d.   Doud.d.



Doud. d.

J. f.

27



Bouch. d. *J. f.*


I.f.


29

30



A.f.


31
Wieling d.


32
Doud.d.
J.f.

33






35
Back.d.


36
Don.d.

37





J.f.


39
J.f.




41
Doud. d.

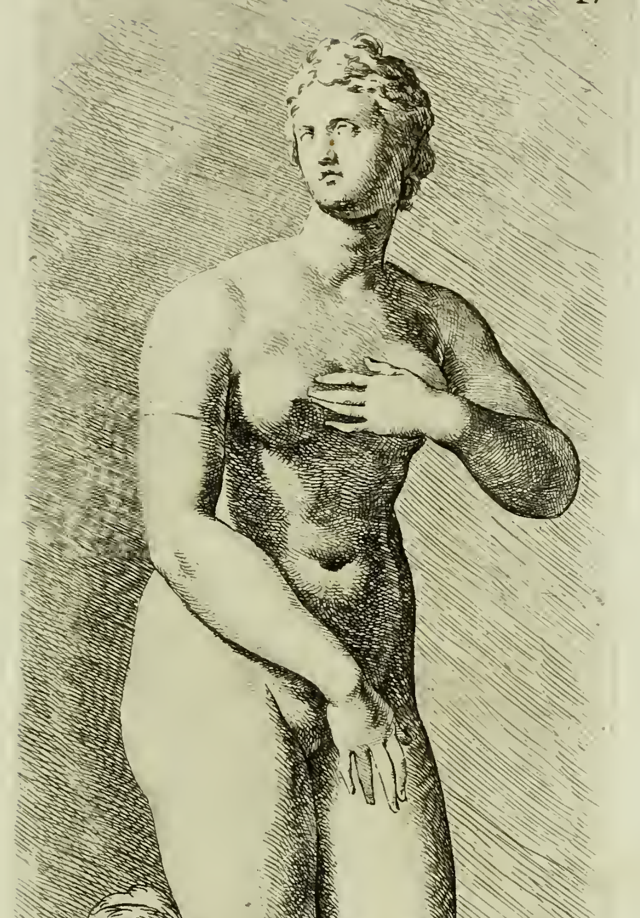

42
Doud. d.


43
Bac. d.
I. f.

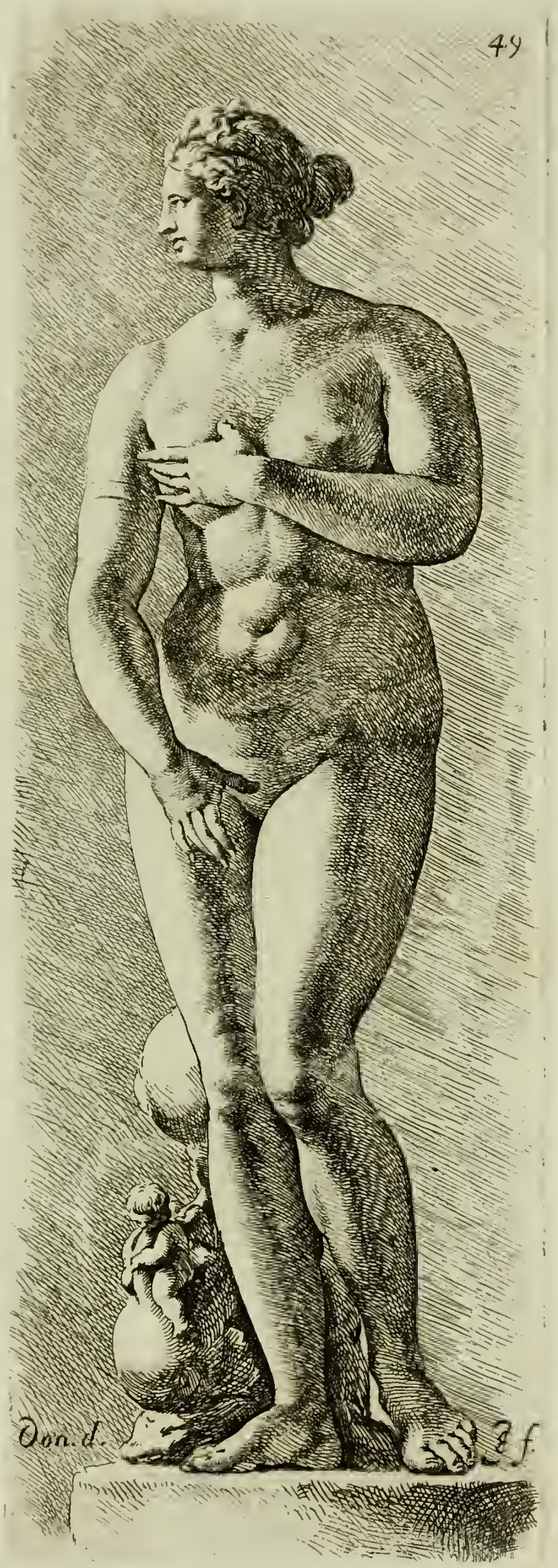

44.
Bac d.


45
Bac. d.

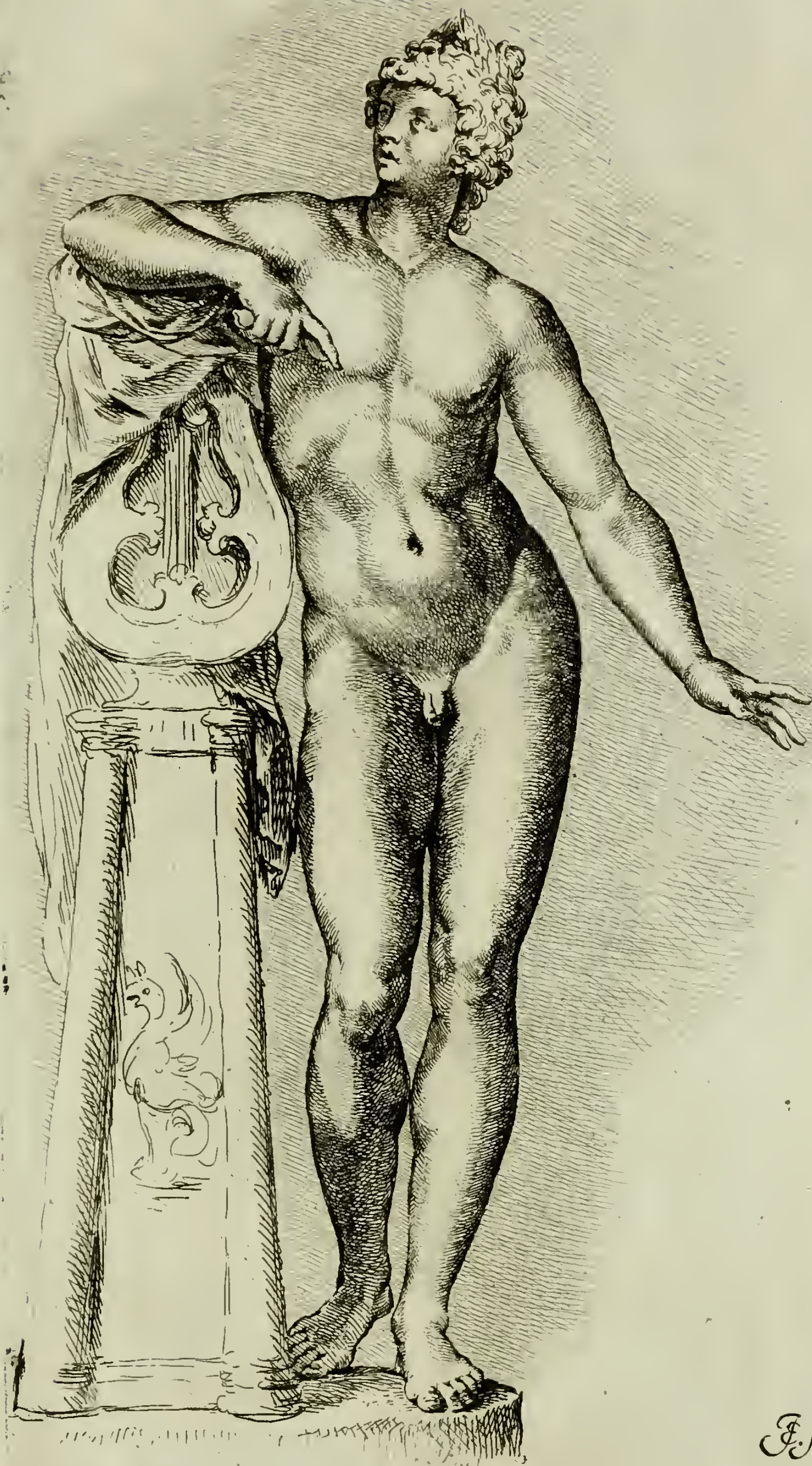

Don. d.


Don
d.
J.f.


48
Bac.d.


49
Don. d.

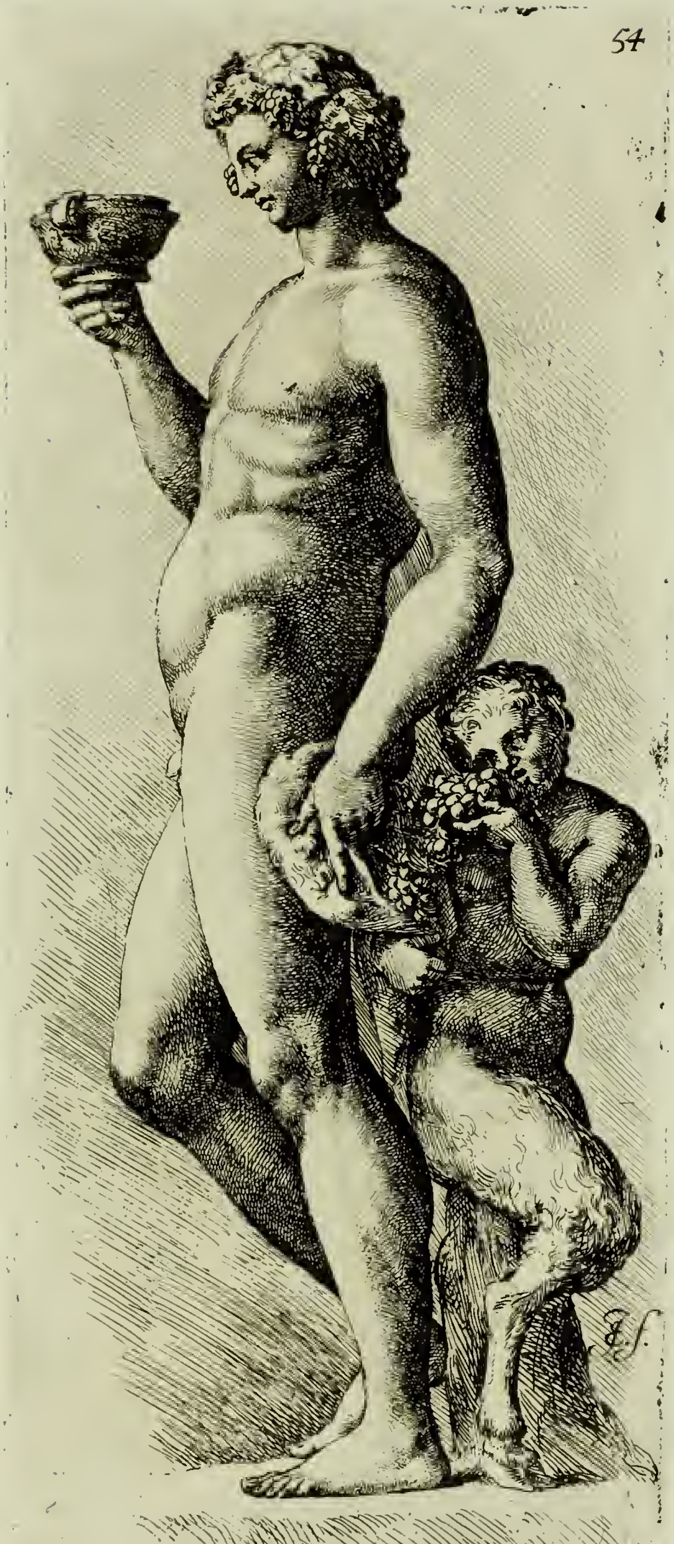

50
Don. d.



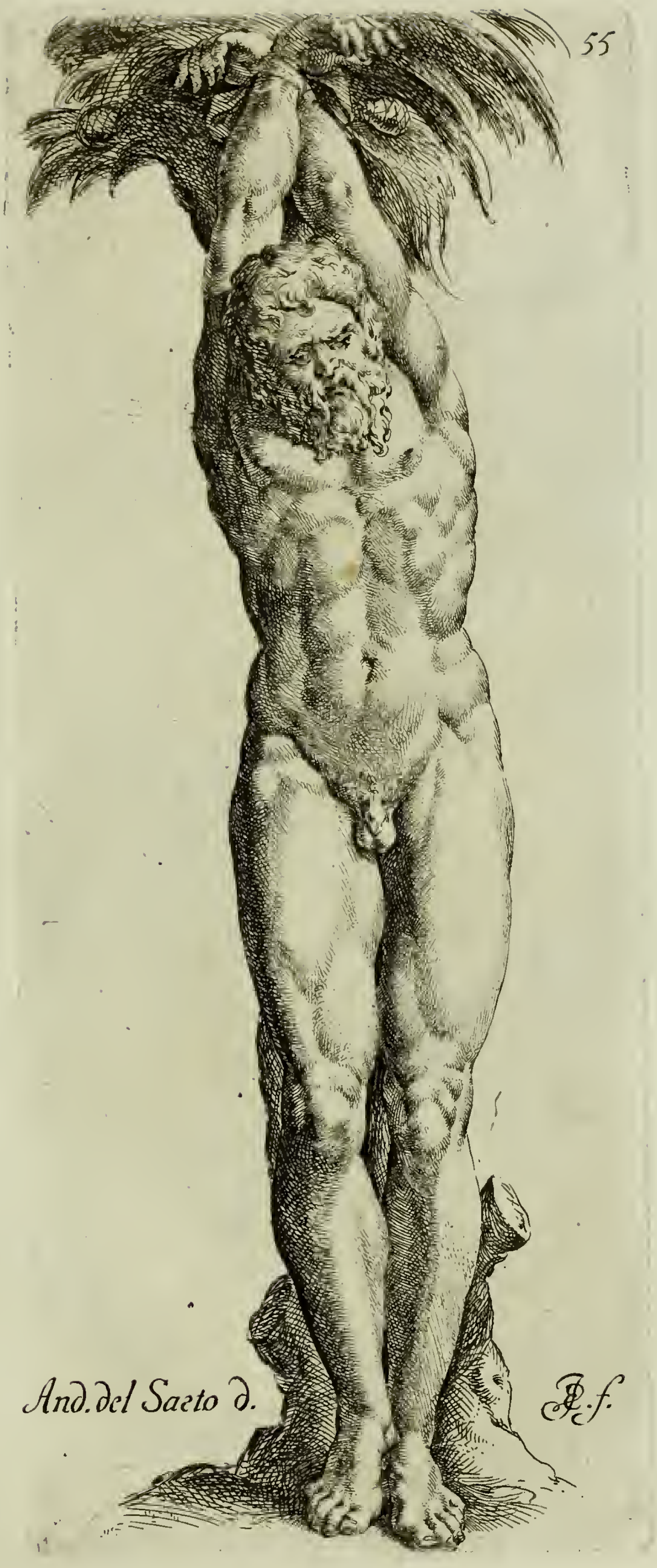
J.f.


52
Poelenburch d.
J.f.




54




55
And. del Sarto d.



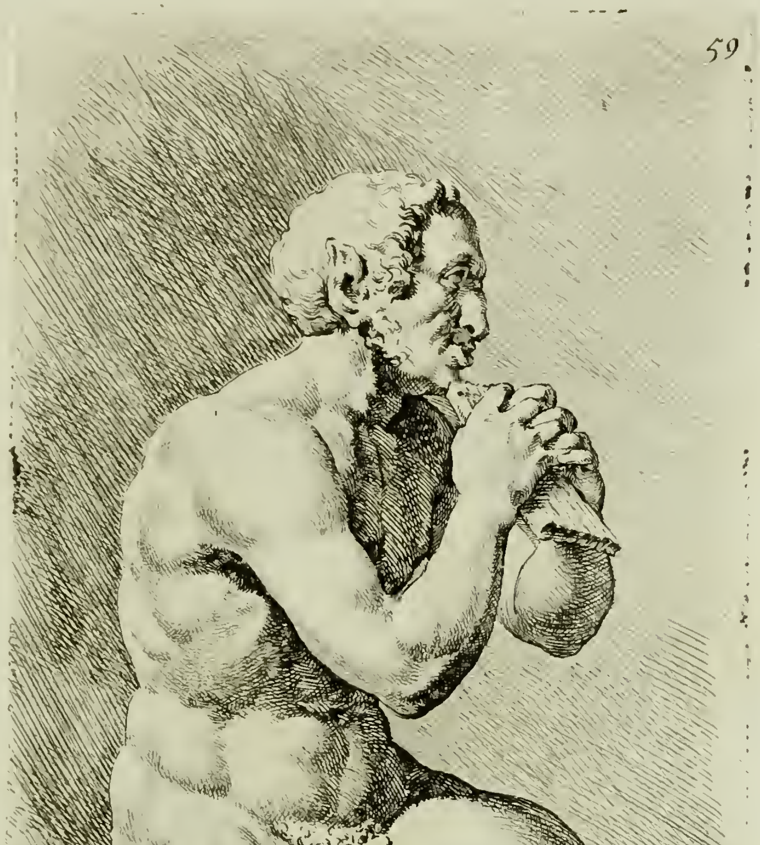


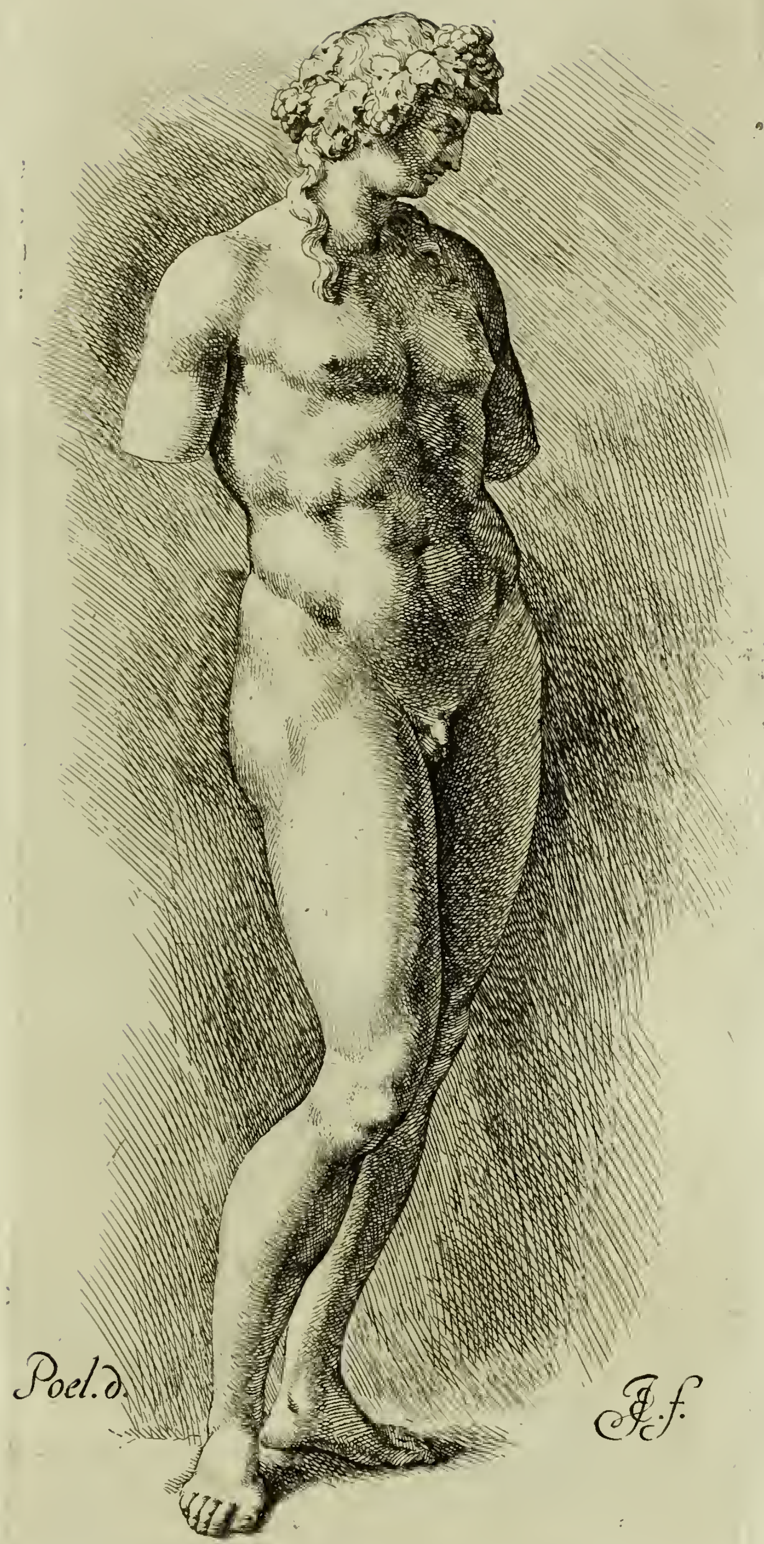
Poel. del.

J. f.

50

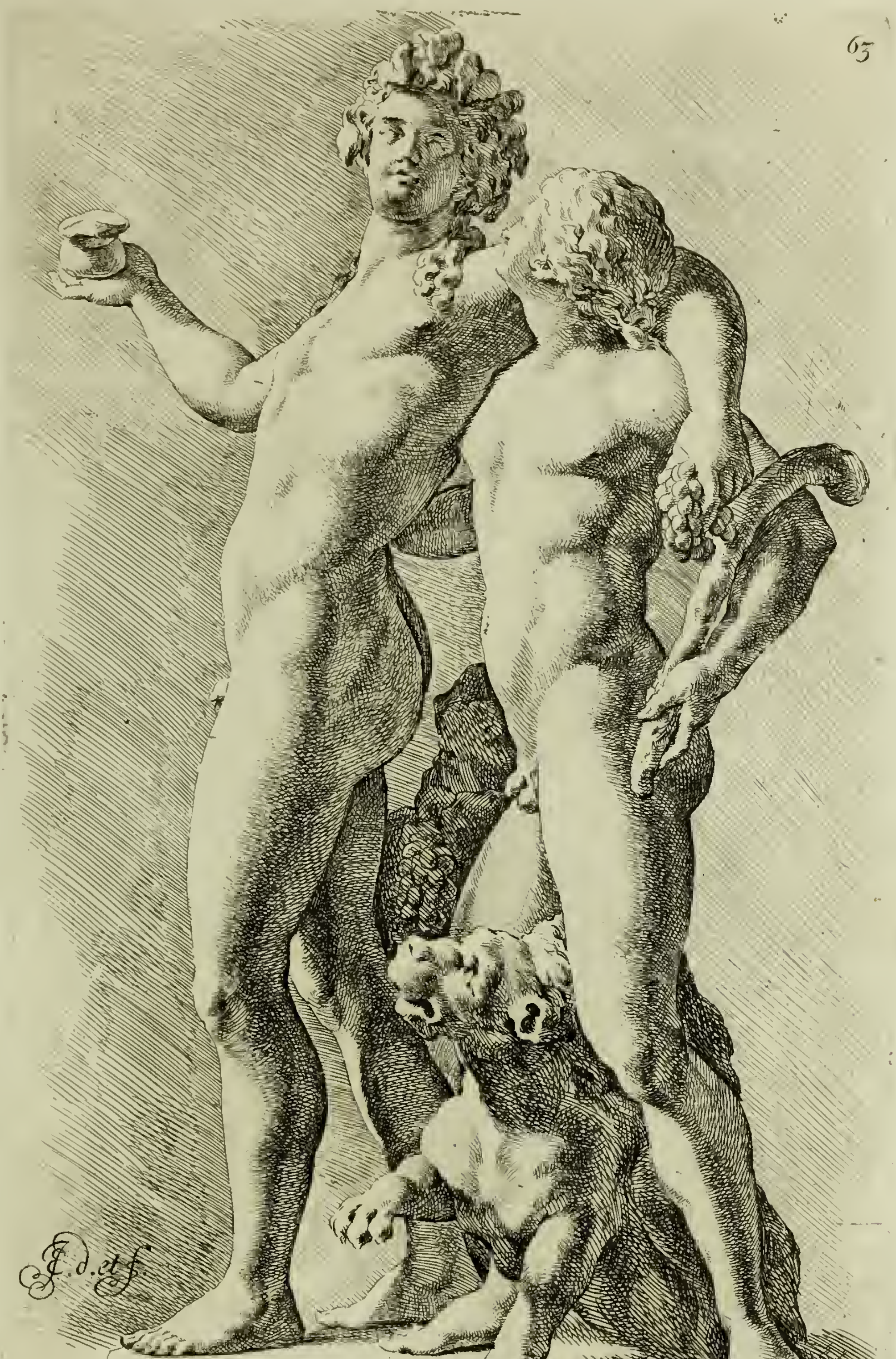


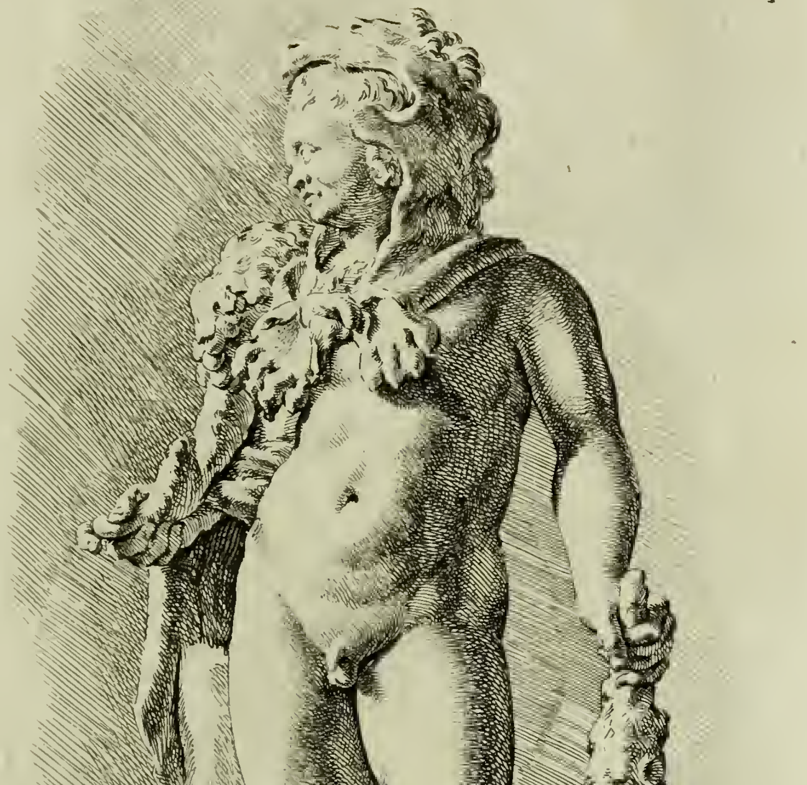

59
1669


Poel. d.


Poel.d. J.J.

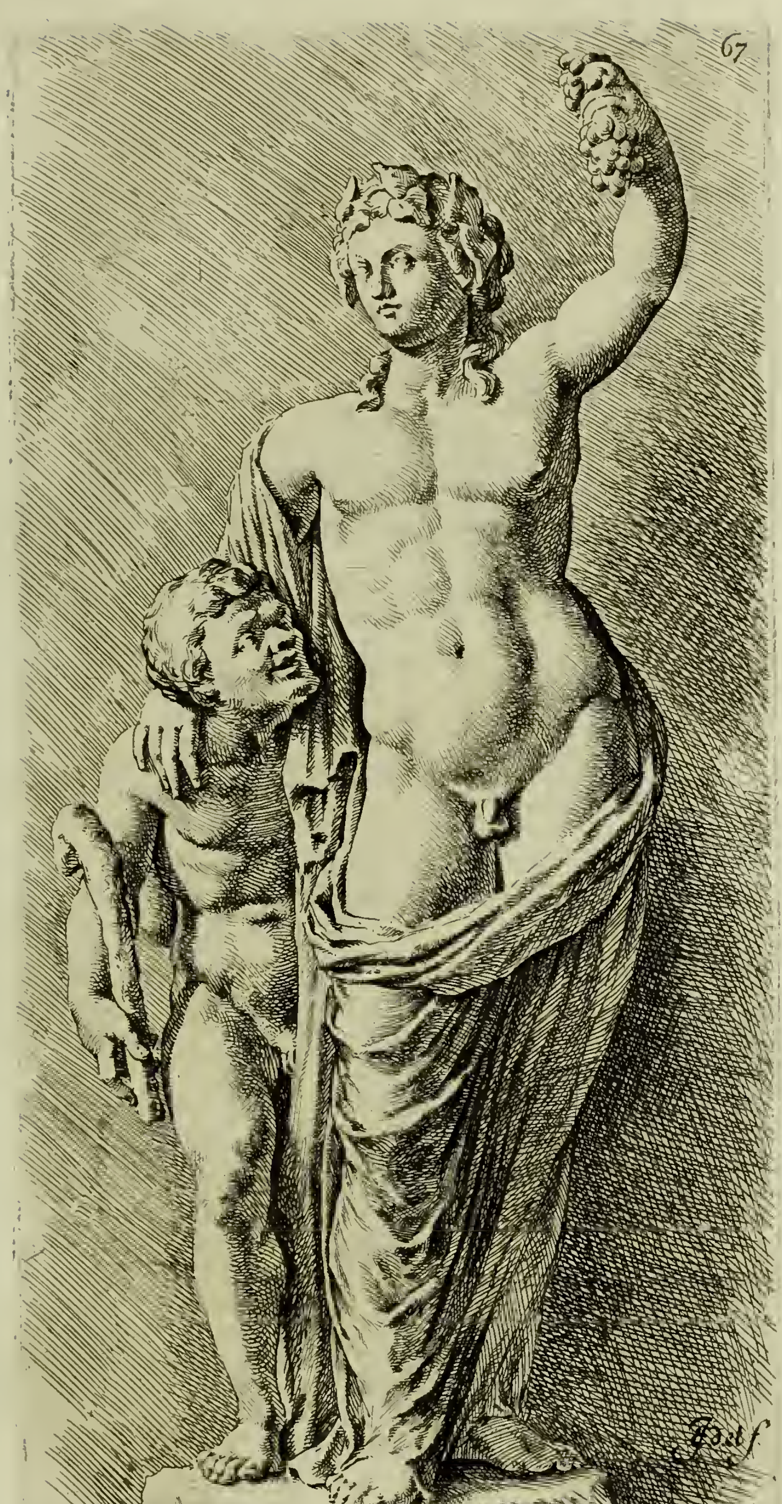

62
J.f.

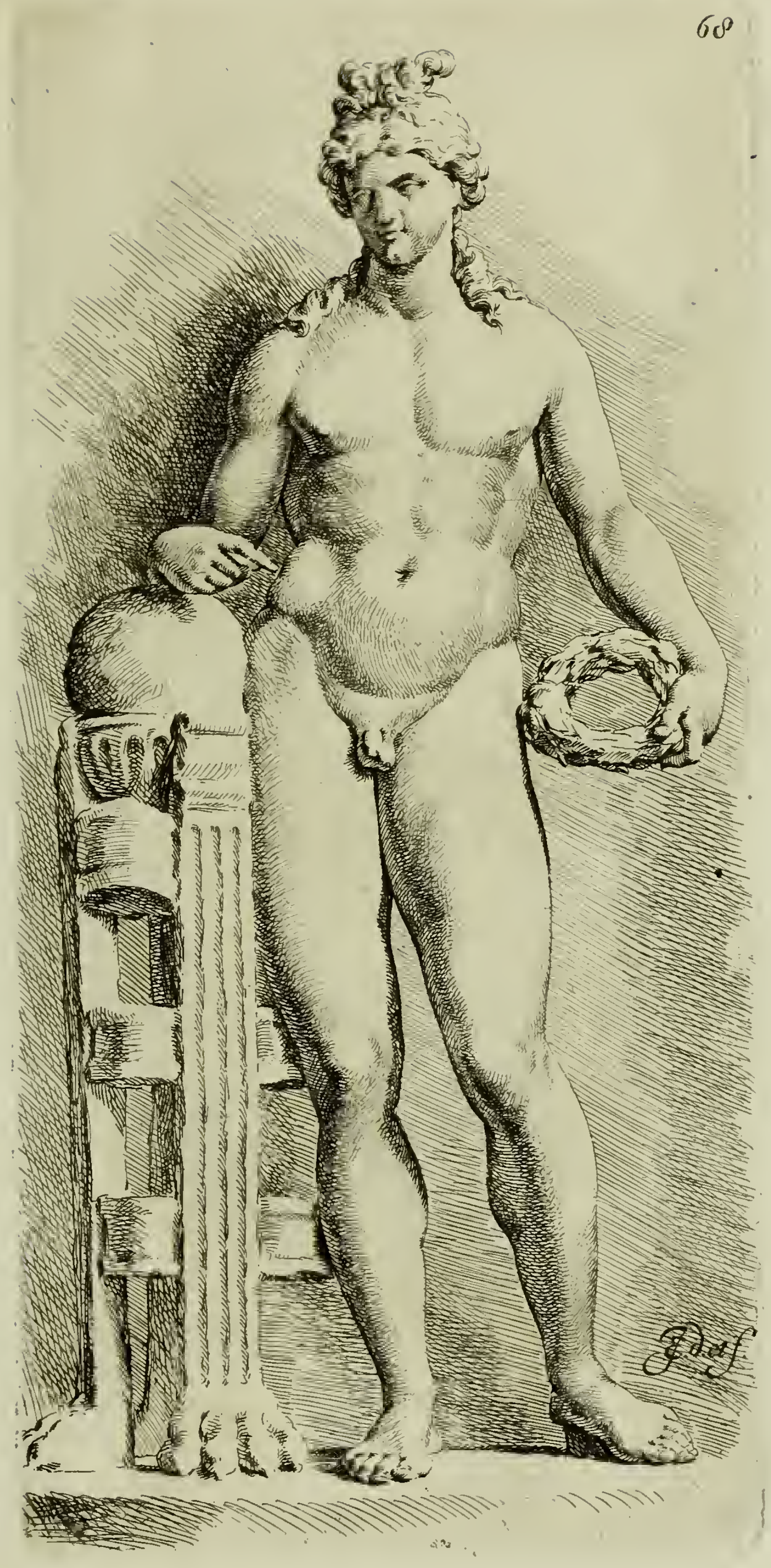



J.d. et f


65


66.
F. d. et f.

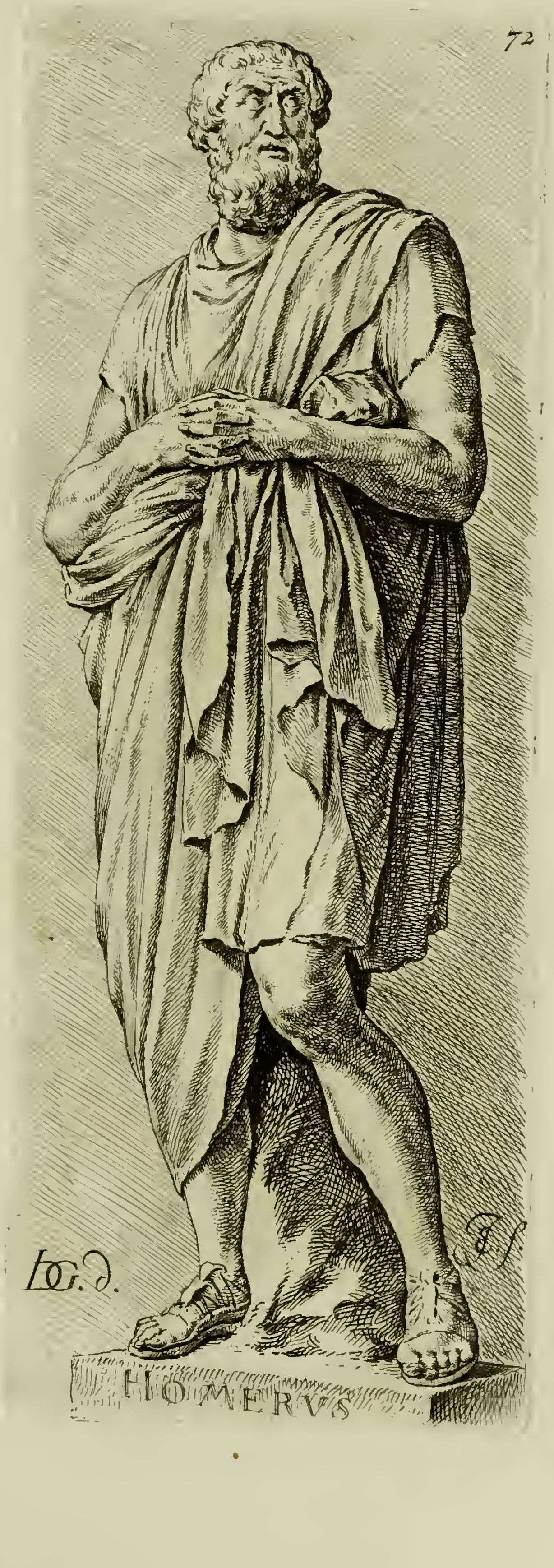

67




del. et f.


J. f.

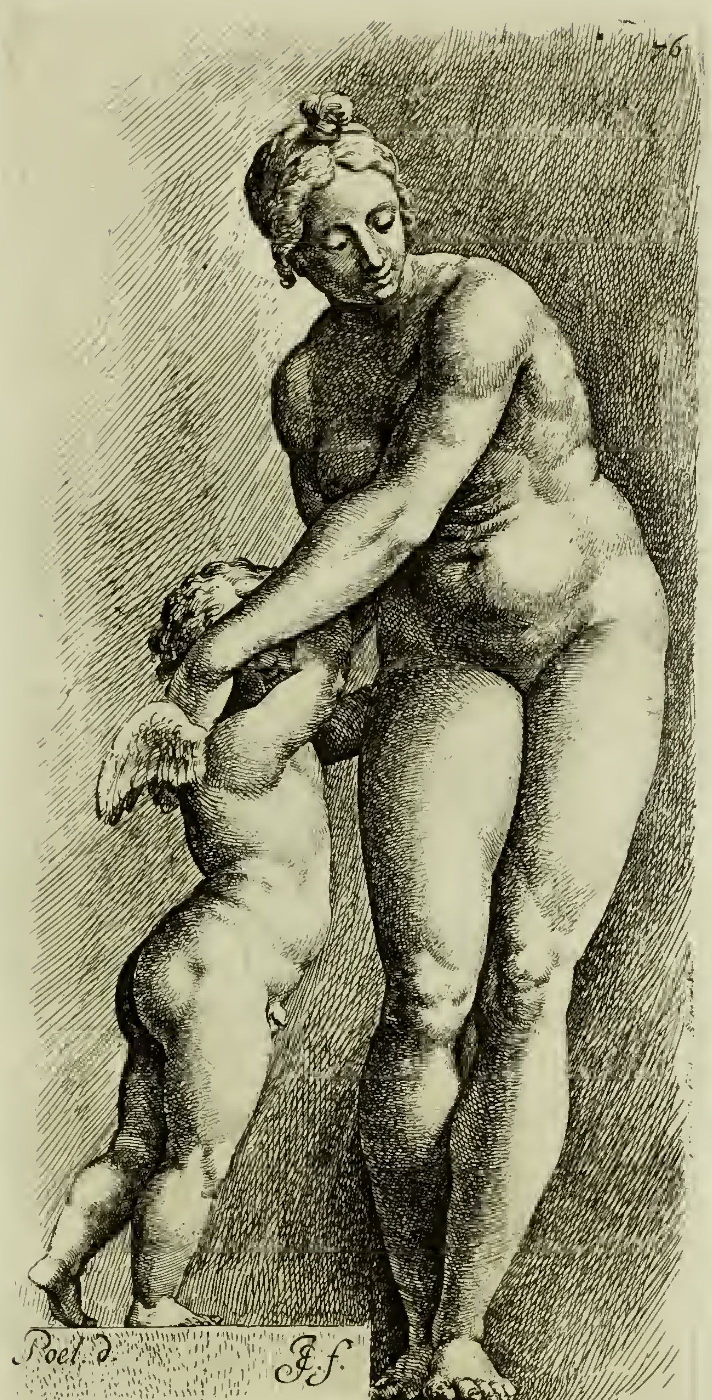

71
Geijn del.
HOMERVS


72
HOMERVS

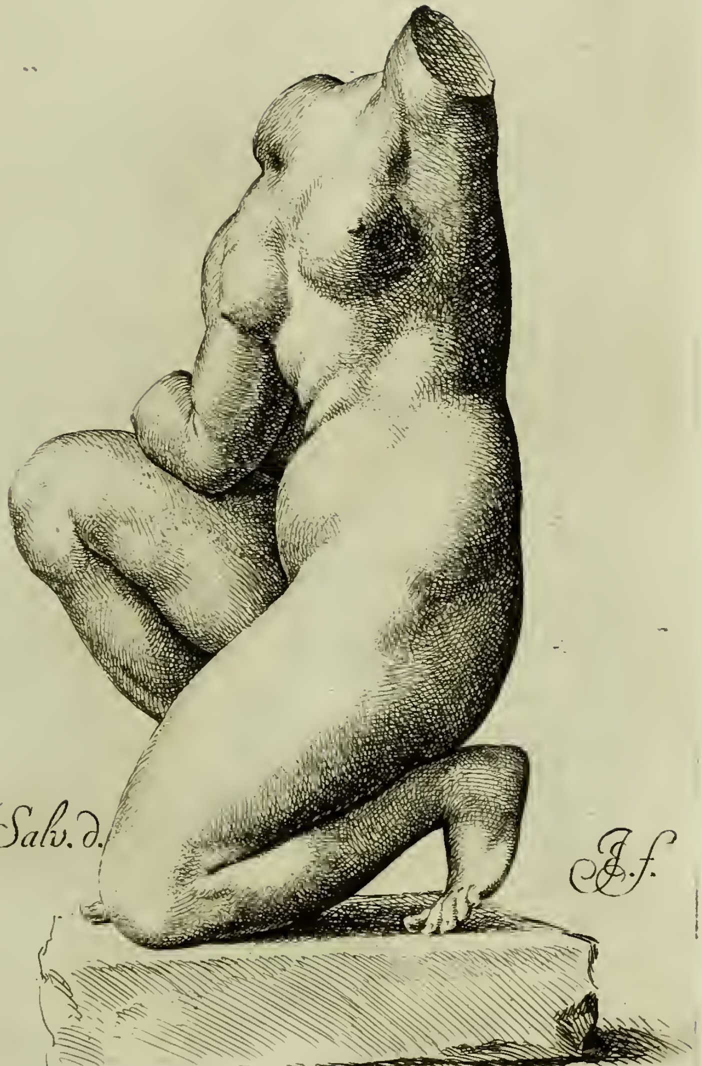

73
CANIŌ · AFRICAE · PROCOS


CAIVS MARIVS


75
Doedeyns d.
J.f.


76
Poel d.
F.f.


F.Salviati d.



T: Salv. d.

J. f.


79


80
J. d. et f.


81
J. f.

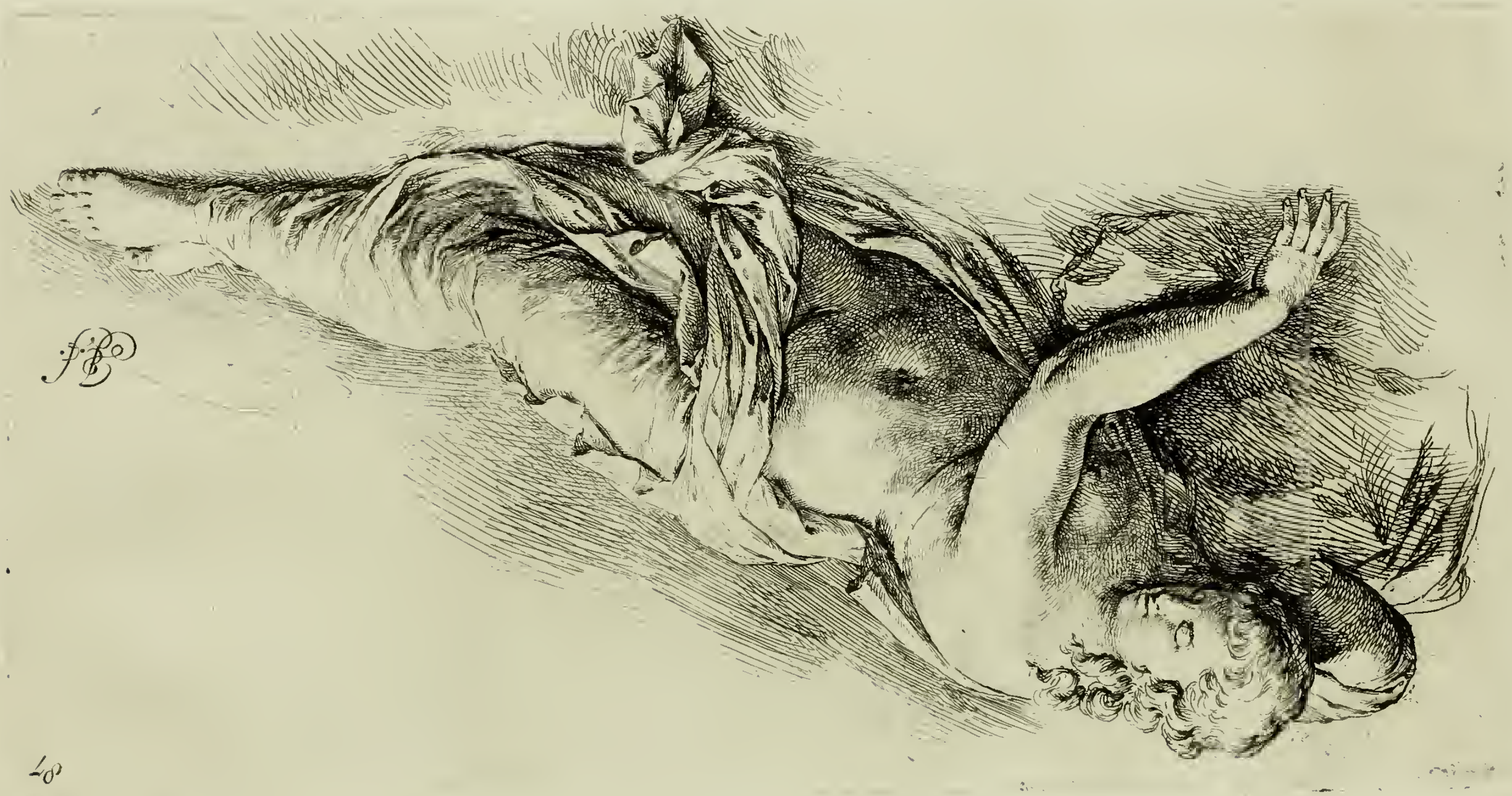

Poel. d.
P. f.


83
Poel. d.


84


A.f.

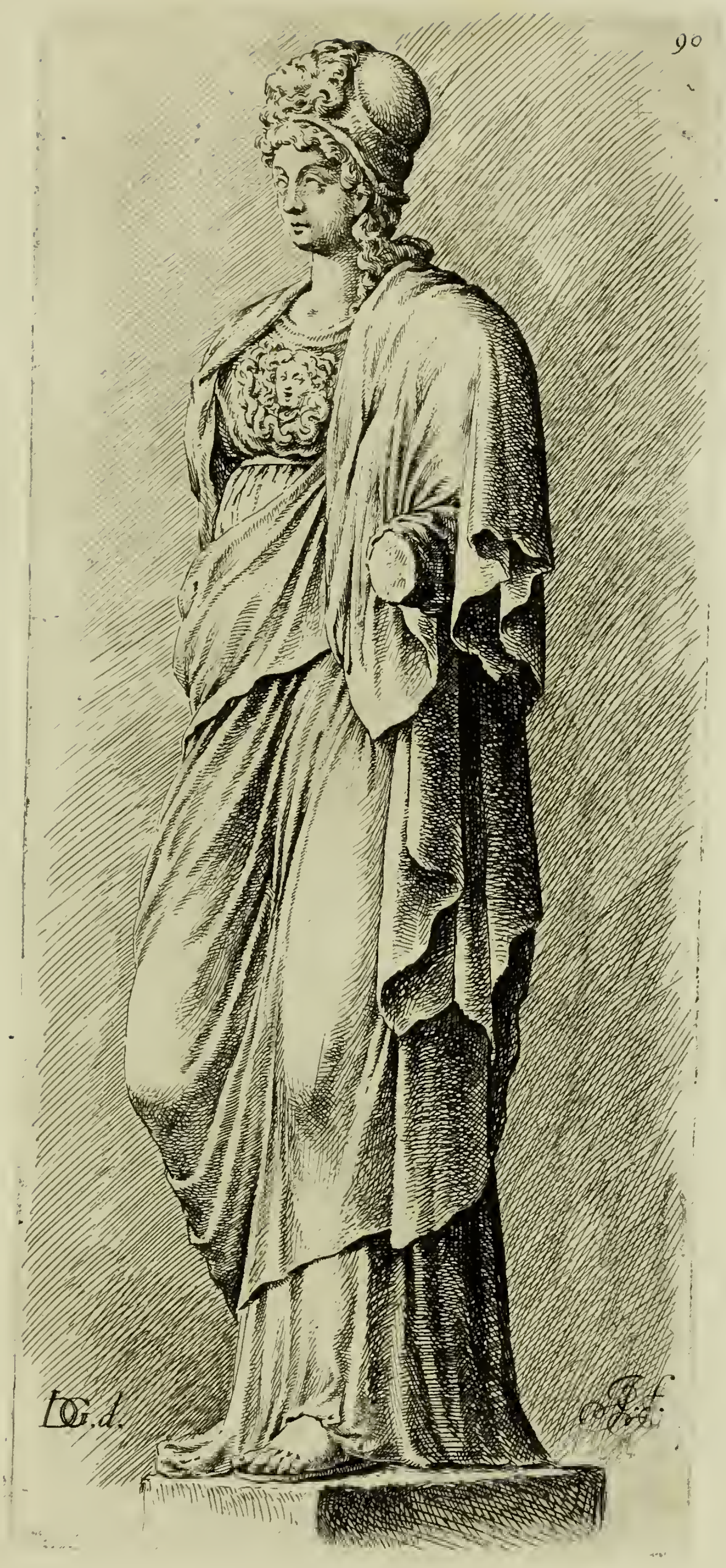

86
Poel. d.



40


88
DG.d.


LDG.d.
J.f.


90
DG.d.


91
DG.d.
J.f.


92


93


94
IDG.d


95
DG.d.


DG.d.



DG.d. *J.f.*



JGr.d. *J.f.*




F. Salv. d.
J. f.


PARADIGMATA
GRAPHICES
Variorum
ARTIFICUM,
Per
IOH. EPISCOPIUM.
ex Formis
Nicolai Visscher.
Te AMSTERDAM by
HENDRIK DE LETH
in de Visser.
Cum Privilegio Ordinum Hollandiæ et West-Frisiæ.



Ann. Caratius inv. del. *CA. f.*


2
Ann. Car. inv. d.



Ludov. Ciuoli pinx.

J. f.



Dominichin.inv.

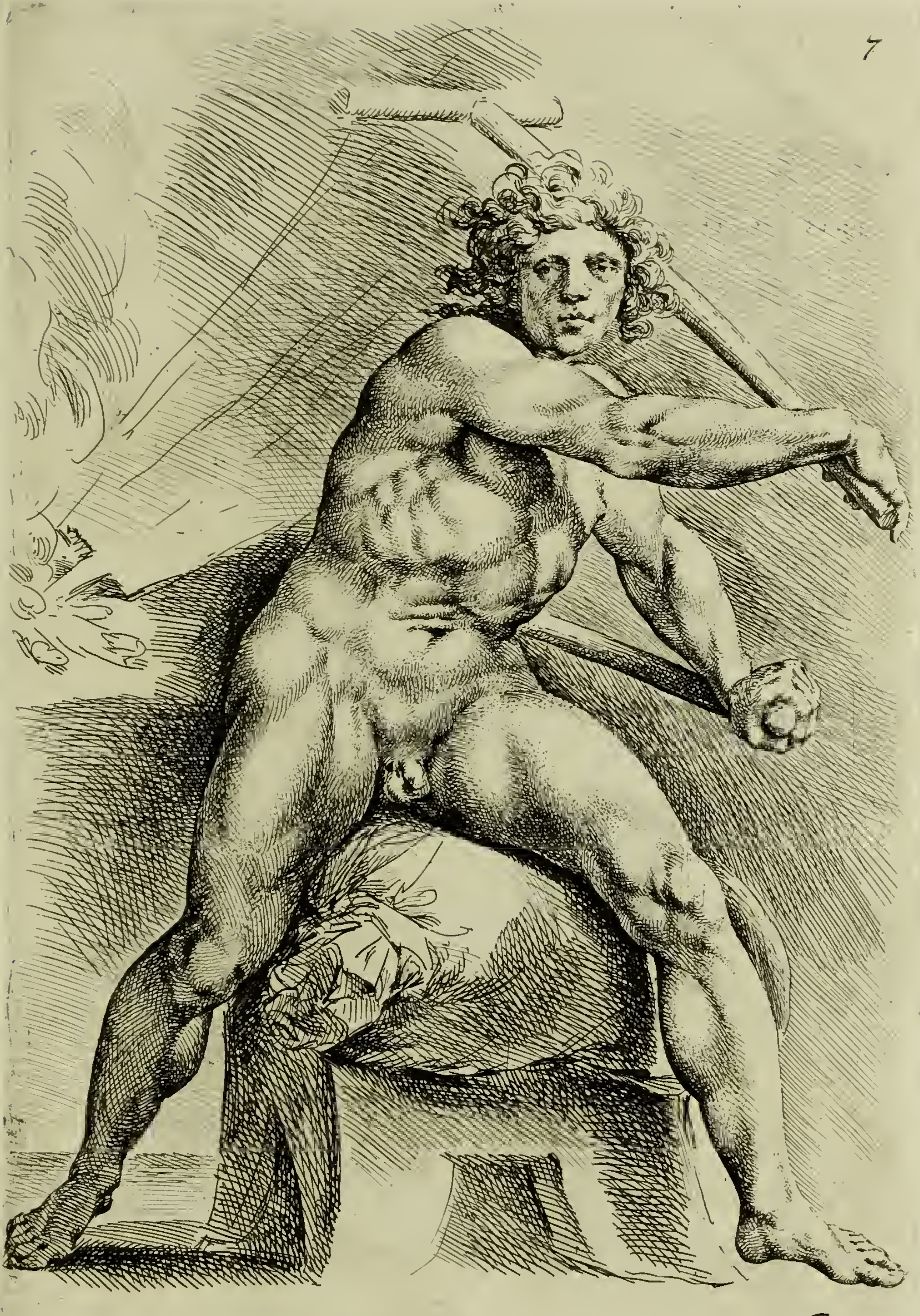
J.f.



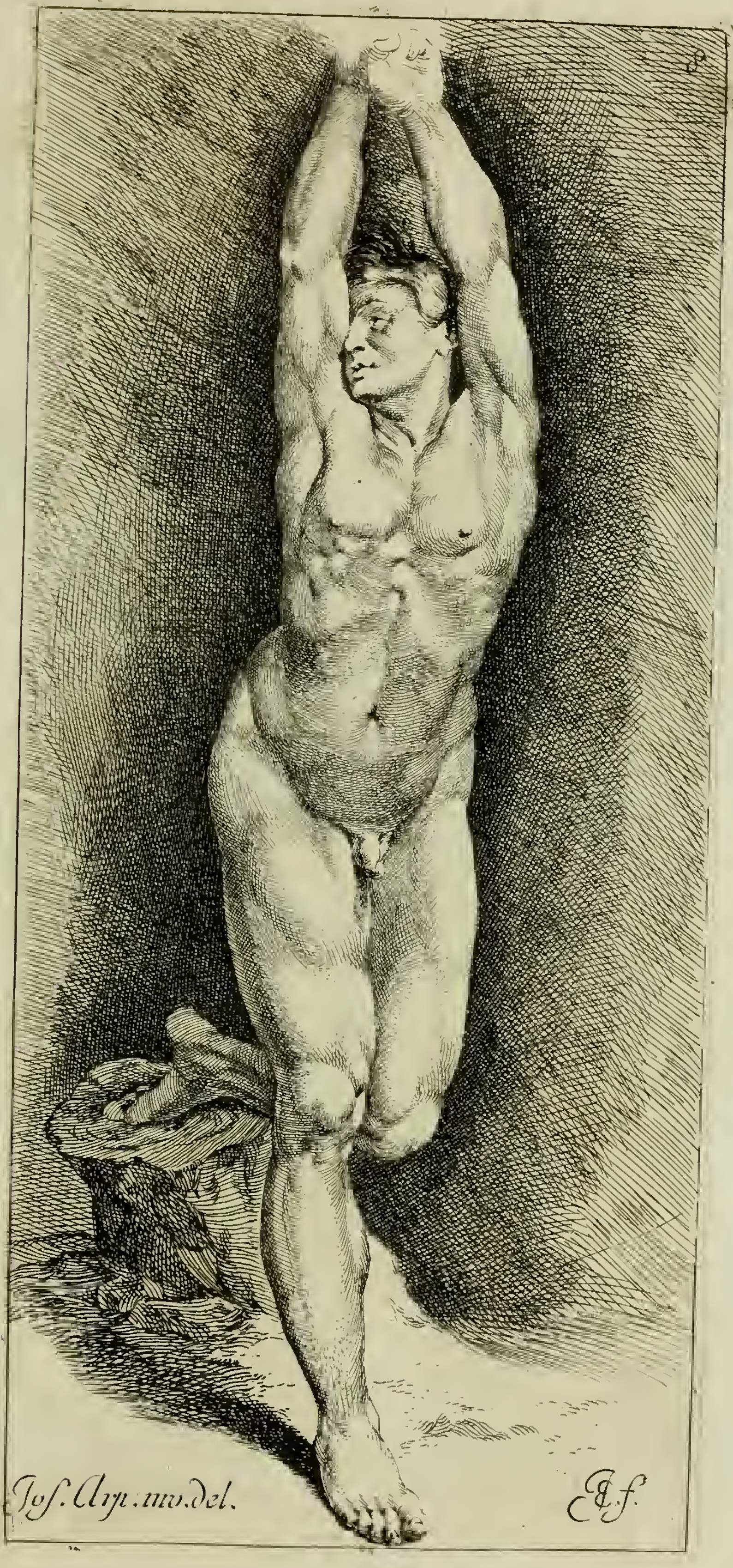
Domin: inv. del.

CL.f.

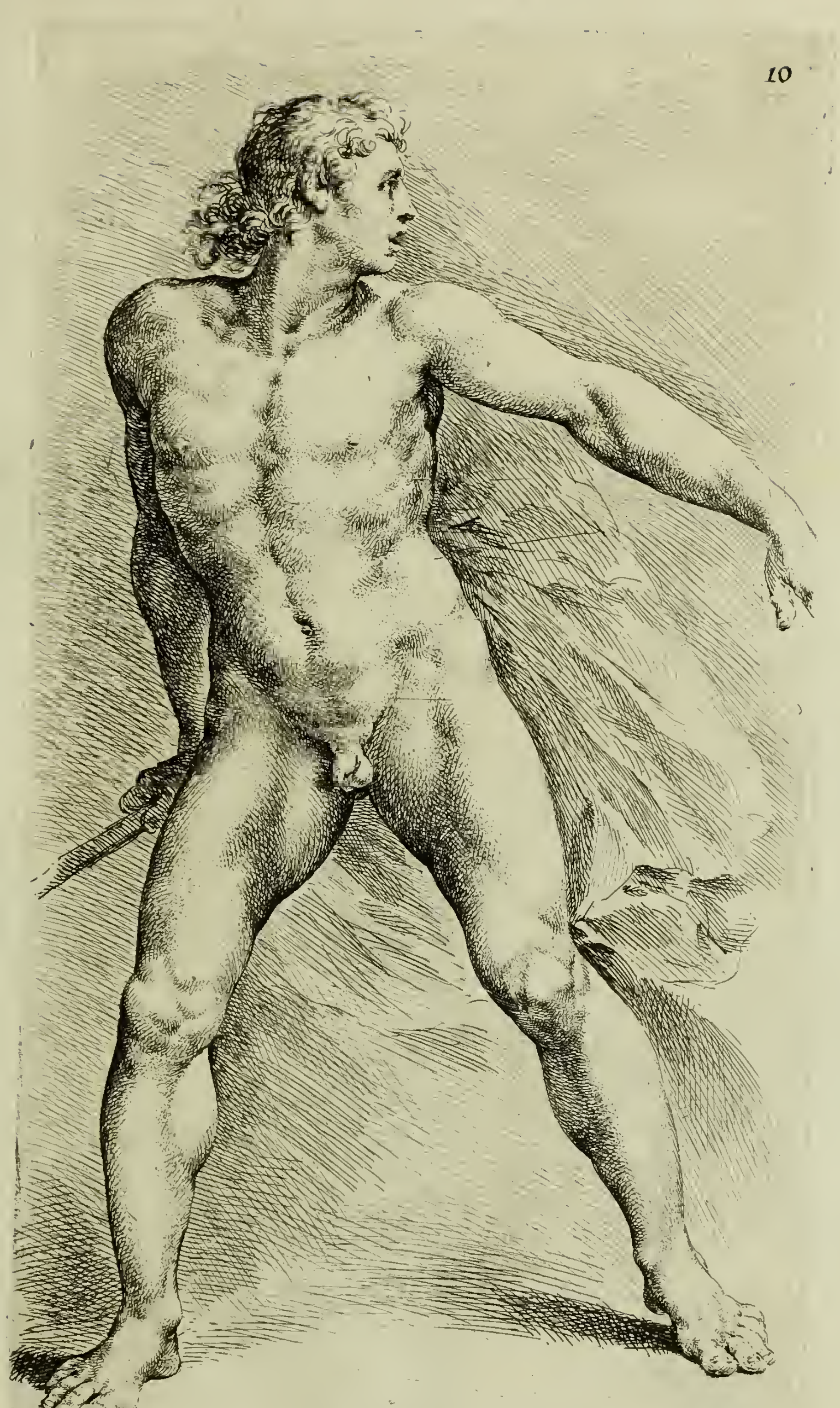

6
Fr. Salviat. inv. del.

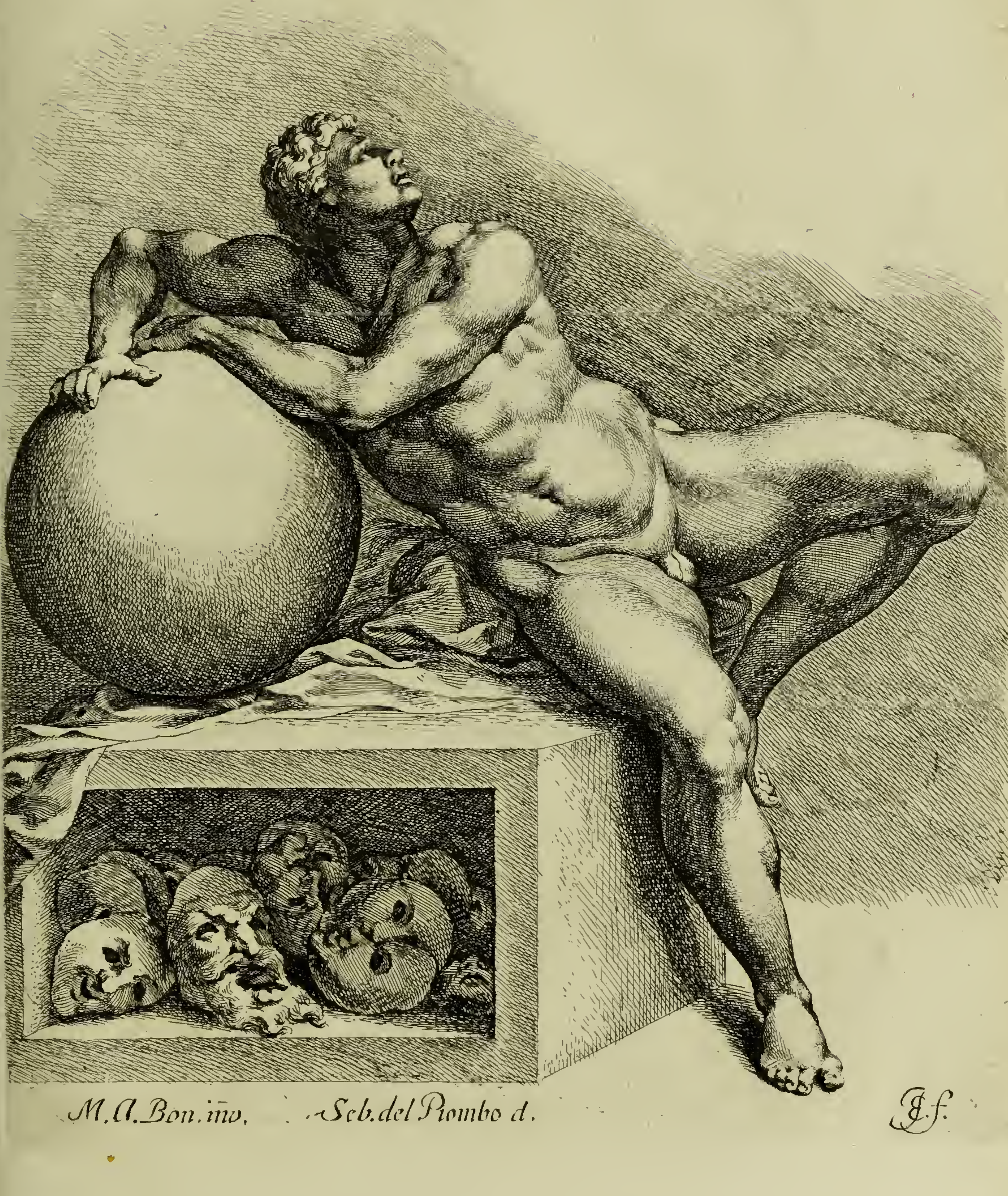


Joſ. Arp. al. Joſepin. inv. d. — *B.f.*

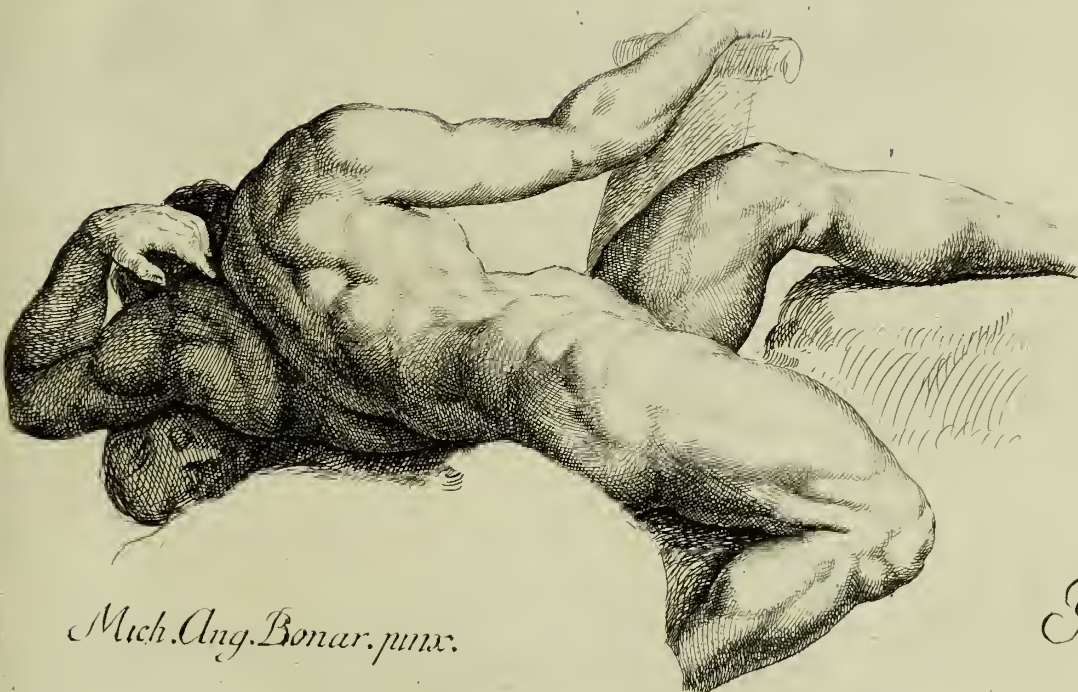

8
Ioſ. Arp. inv. del.
E. f.


Ioſ. Arp. inv. d.
f.
9


10
Joſ. Arpi. inv. d.



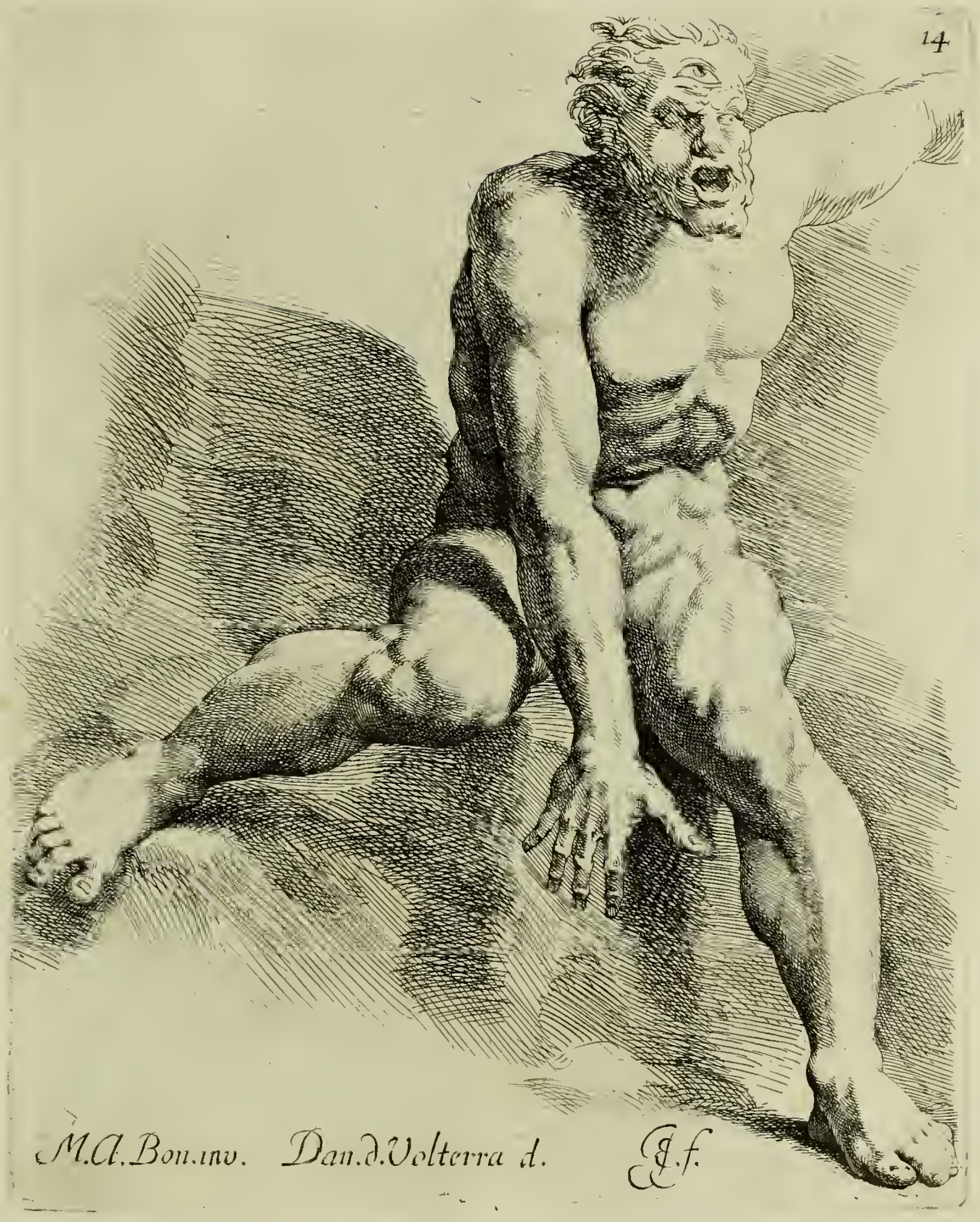
M. A. Bon. ĩnv.   Seb. del Piombo d.   J. f.



Mich. Ang. Bonar. pinx. *J. f.*

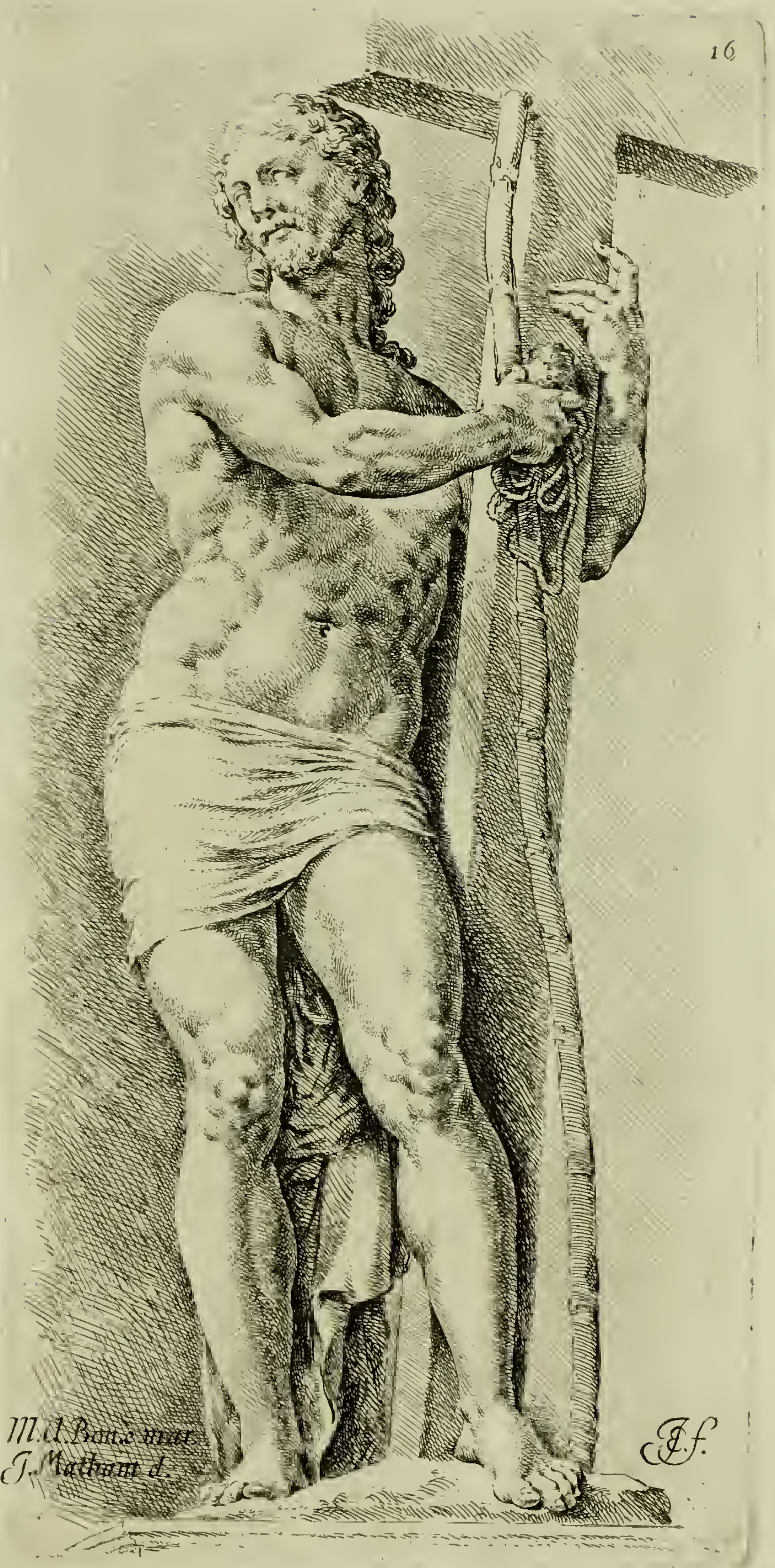


M. Ang. Bon. pinx. A. f.


14
M.A.Bon.inv.
Dan.d.Volterra d.



M.A.Bonarοti è marm. Doedcins d.
J.f.


16
M.A.Bon.e mar.
J.Matham d.
J.F.

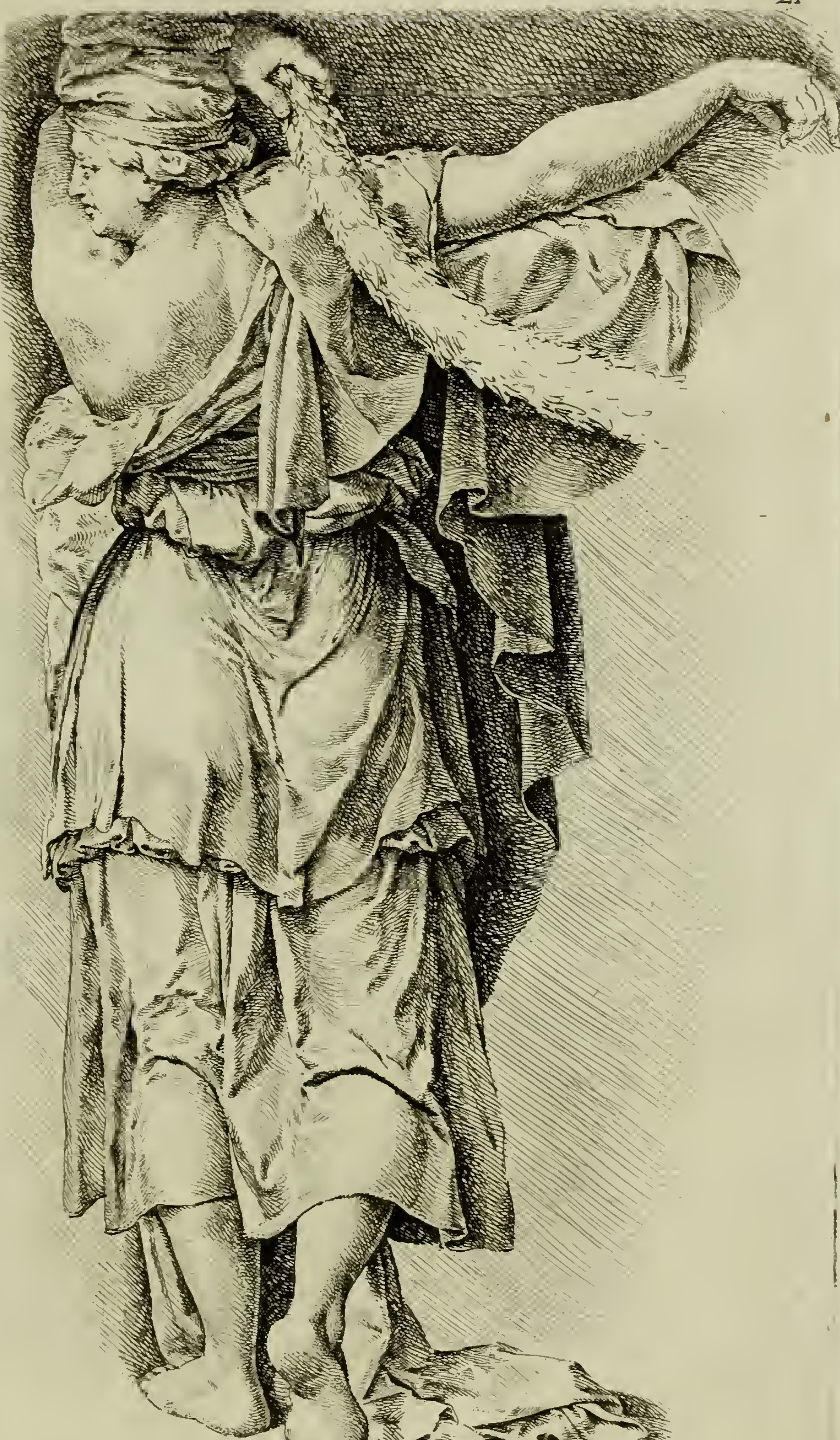

17
M.A.Bonar:pinx. G.Vaſari d.
J.f.


18
Raf.Urb.pinx.
Doncker d.
J.f.



Pomerant.inv.d. A.f.


D.d.Volterra inv.d.
J.f.

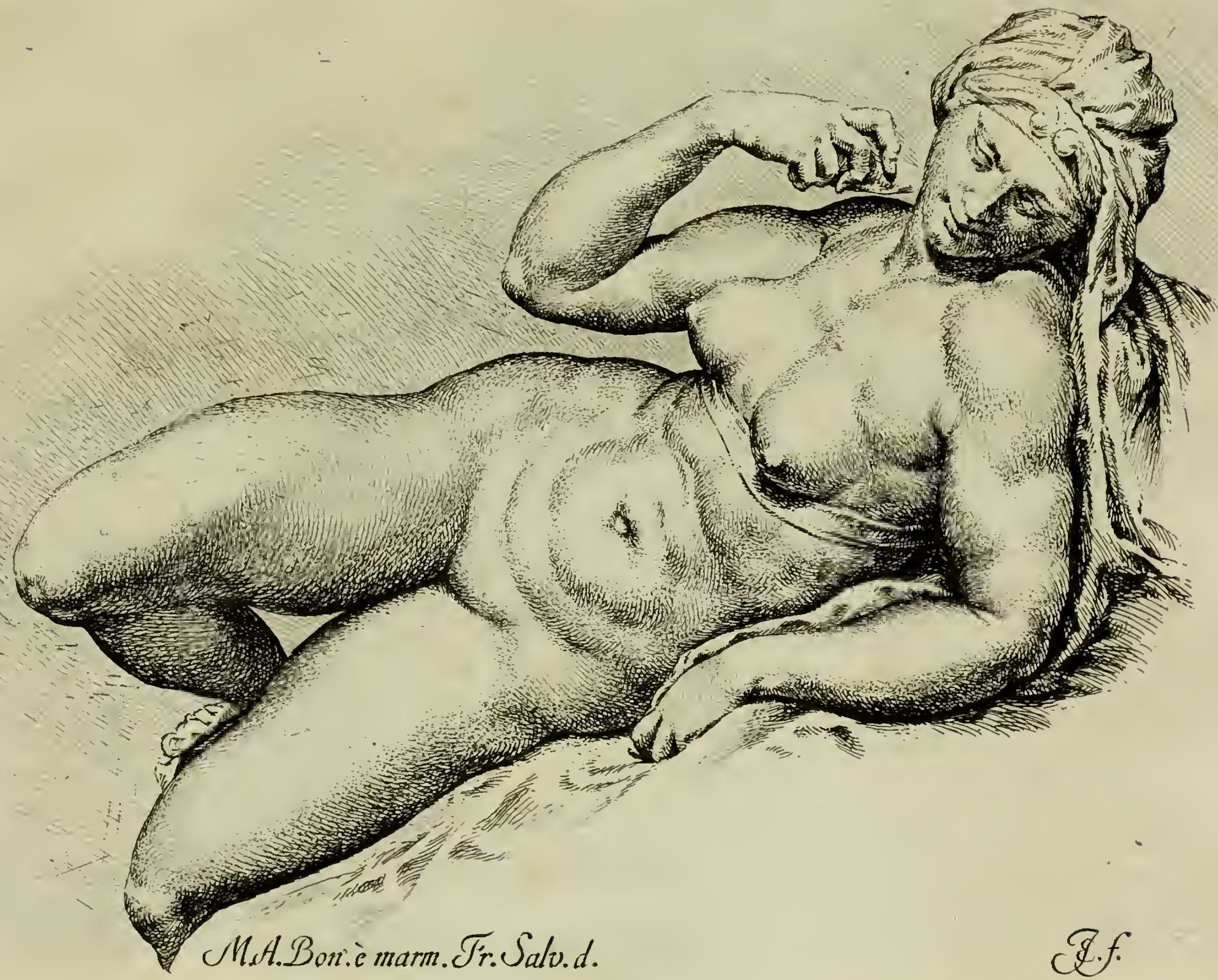


D.d.Volt.inv.d.

J.f.



Mich. Ang. Bon. pinx. F. Salv. d.   J. f.



M.A.Bon.ͤ e marm. Fr. Salv. d.

J. f.

23



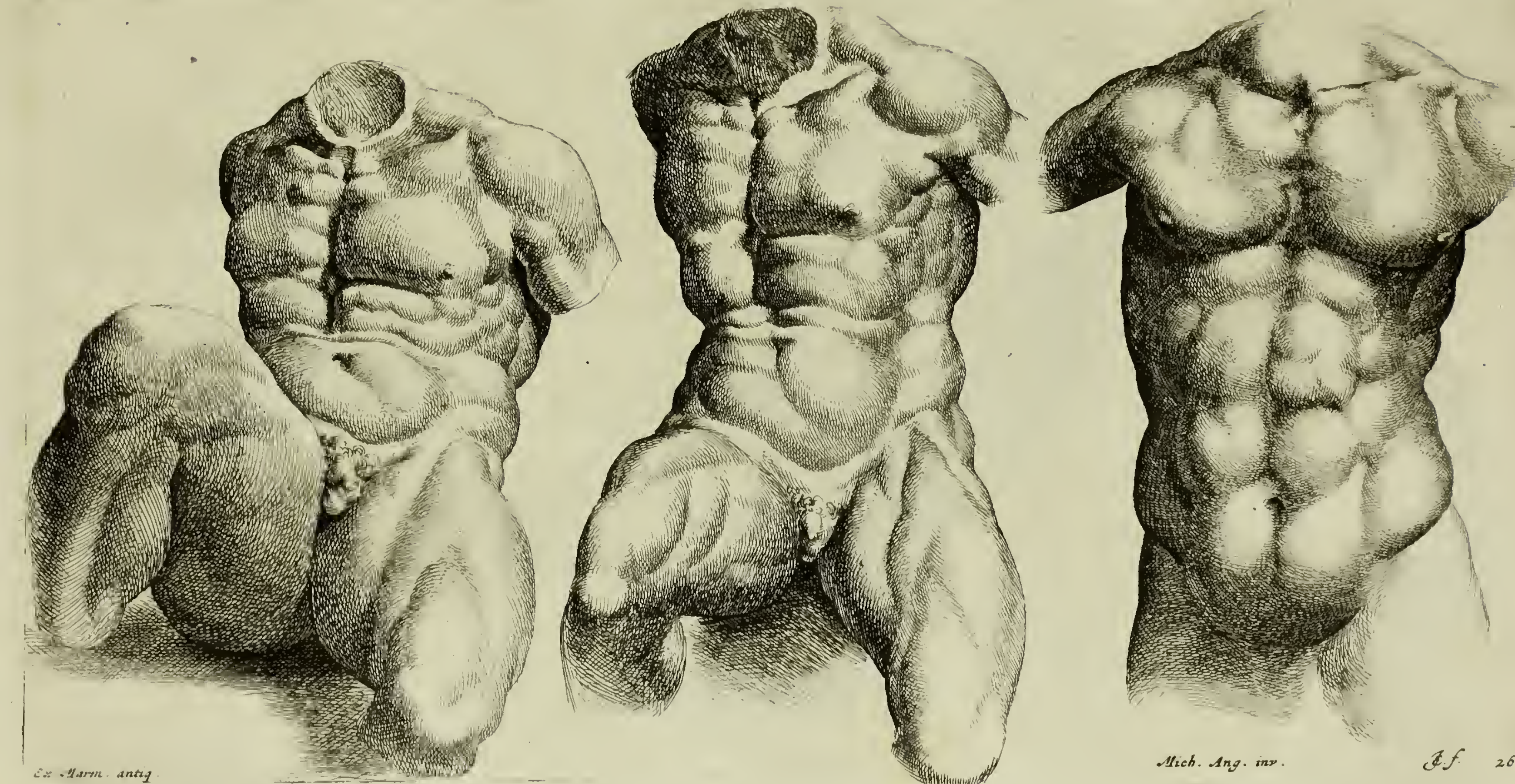
M.A. Bon. è marm.

J.f.



M.A.Bon.è marm. J.f.

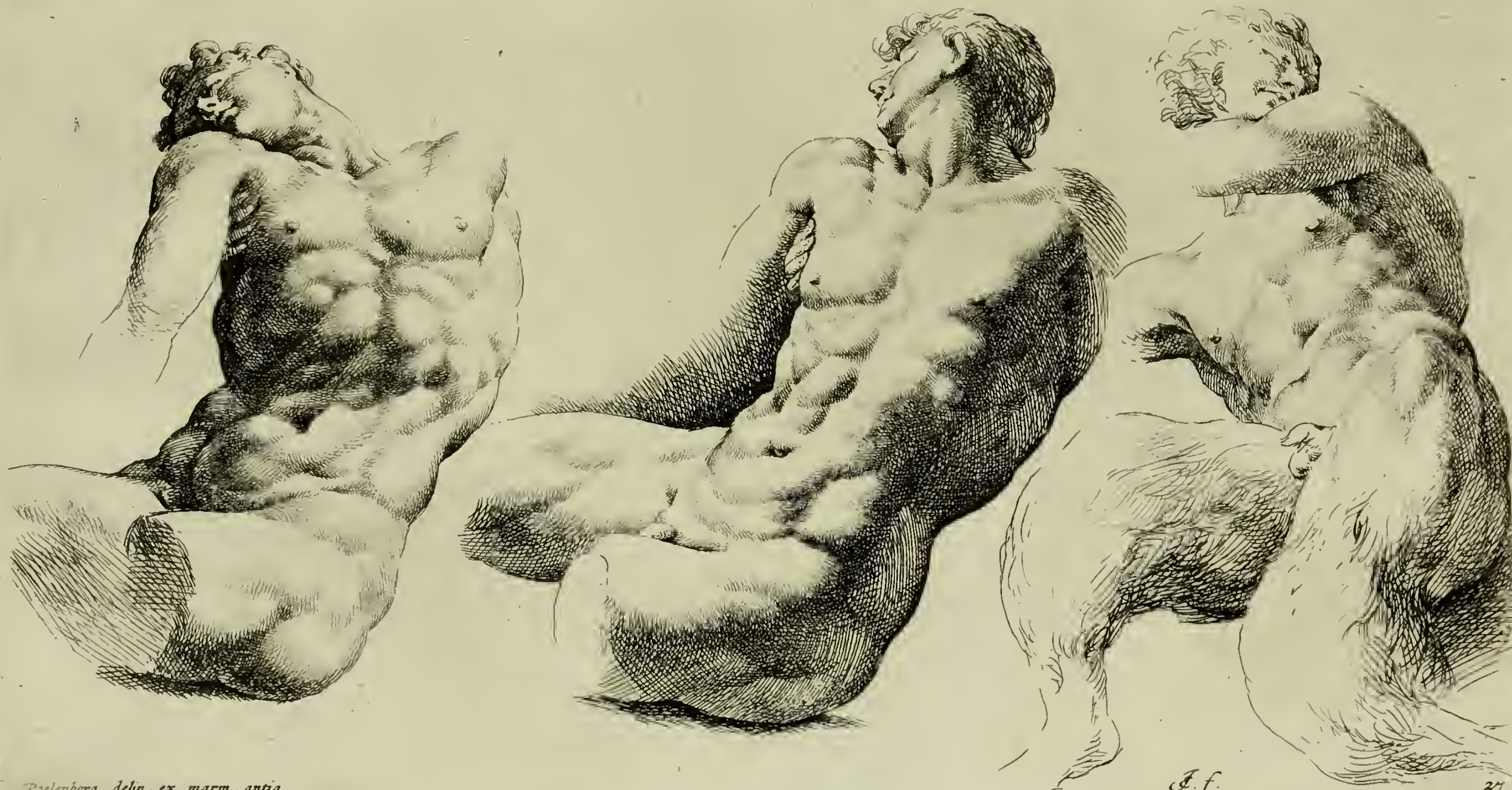
25



Ex Marm. antiq.

Mich. Ang. inv.

A. f. 26



Poelenborg delin. ex marm. antiq. *J. f.* 27



Annib. Carats inv. *Mich. Ang. inv.* *Rafael* *J. f.* 28



Bacc. Band. inv.

Fra Bartholom°.

ex marmore antiq.

Æ. f. 29



Joſepin inv. J.f. 30



Tadd Zuccaro inv. *F. f.* *Roſſo inv.* 31



Bacc. Band. inv.

Æ. f.

32



Ant. d Correggio inv.

C. f.


34

Bacc. Band. inv.

F. f.

actually bic. Bandini

35



Bacc. Band. inv.

J. f.

36



Heemſkerk ex marmore antiq.

F. f.

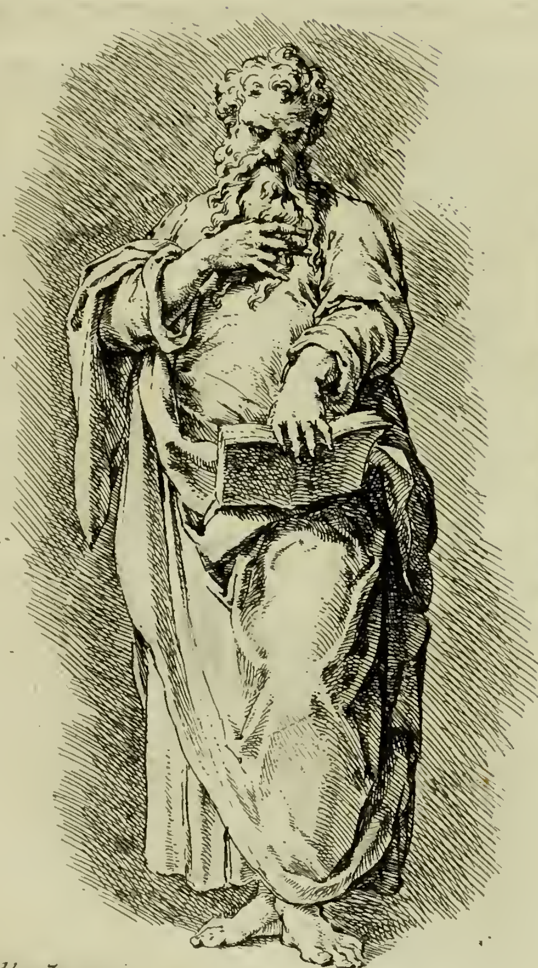


Heemſkerk ex marm. antiq.

J. f.



Bacc. Band. inv. — *Andr. del Sarto inv.* — *J. f.* 38



Taddeo Zuccaro inv.



Joſepin inv.



Dominic° Ghuirlandaio inv.

J.f.

39





Julio Rom . inv. *J.f.*



Julio Romano inv.

I. f.



Fred. Zuccaro inv.

J. f.


Giorgio Vaſari inv.
J. f.



Iulio Rom. inv. *Franc. Parmeggiano inv.* J. f. 44



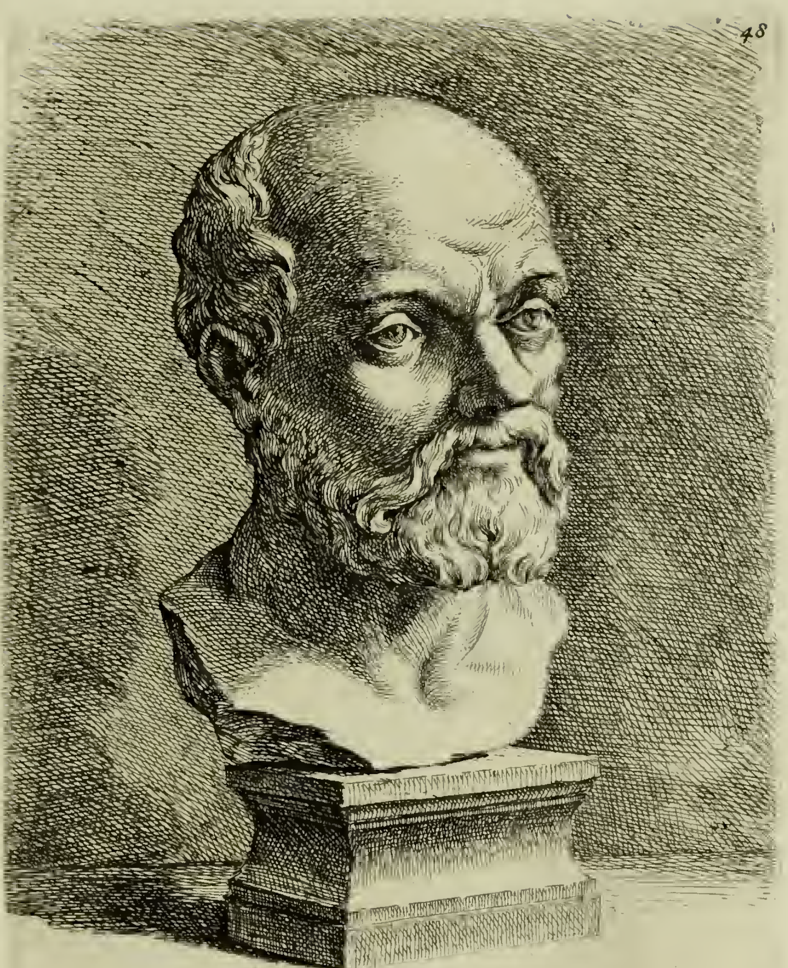
Paolo Veron. inv.

J.f. 45


Fred. Zuccaro pinxit in Eſcuriali
f.


Vannius inv
47

48



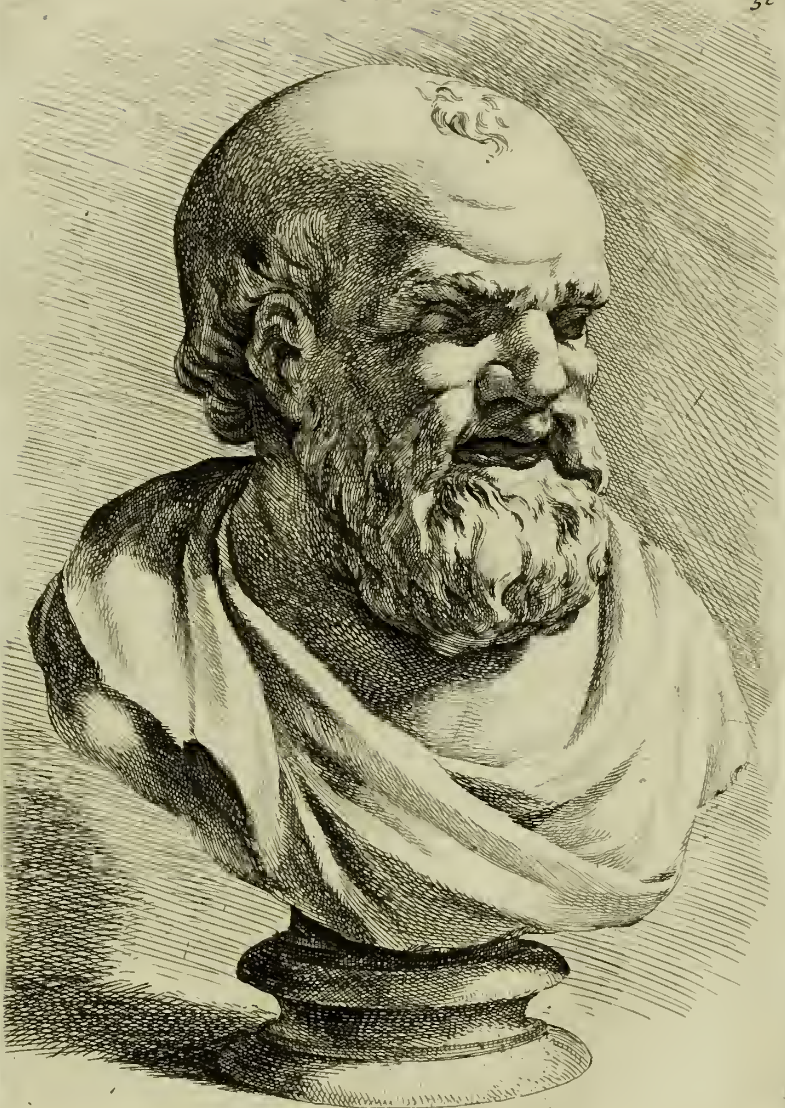
Socrates . *ex marm antiq .* *J.f.*



Sophocles. *ex marm. antiq.* *J. f.*



Zeno . ex marm. antiq. J. f



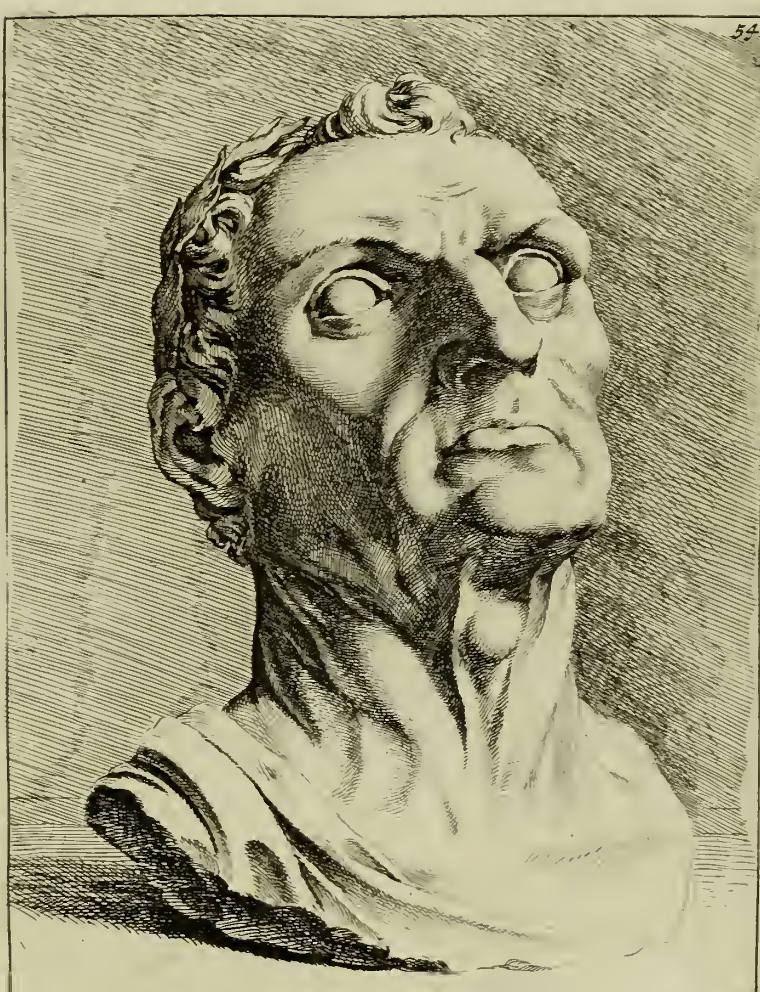
Democritus . *ex marmore antiq* . *I.f.*



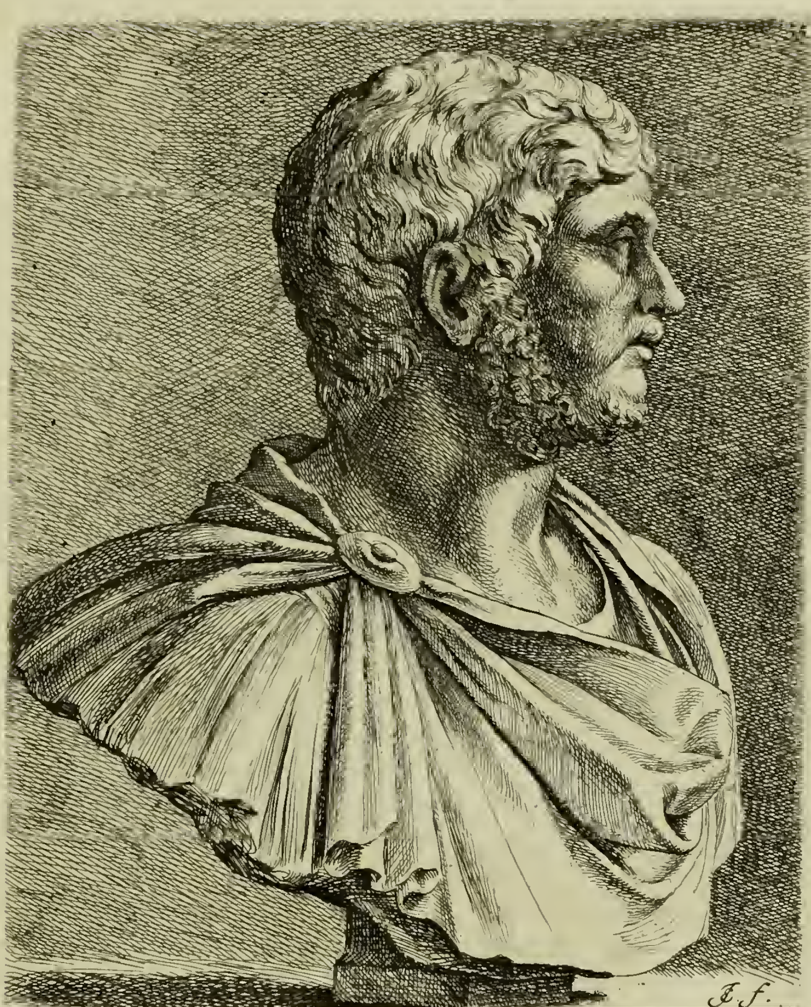
Scipio Africanus . *ex marmore antiq* *J. f.*



Pompejus . ex marmore antiq . J. f.



Galba . *ex marmore antiq .* *J. f.*



Hadrianus, alijs Licinius Cæſar. *ex marm. antiq.*



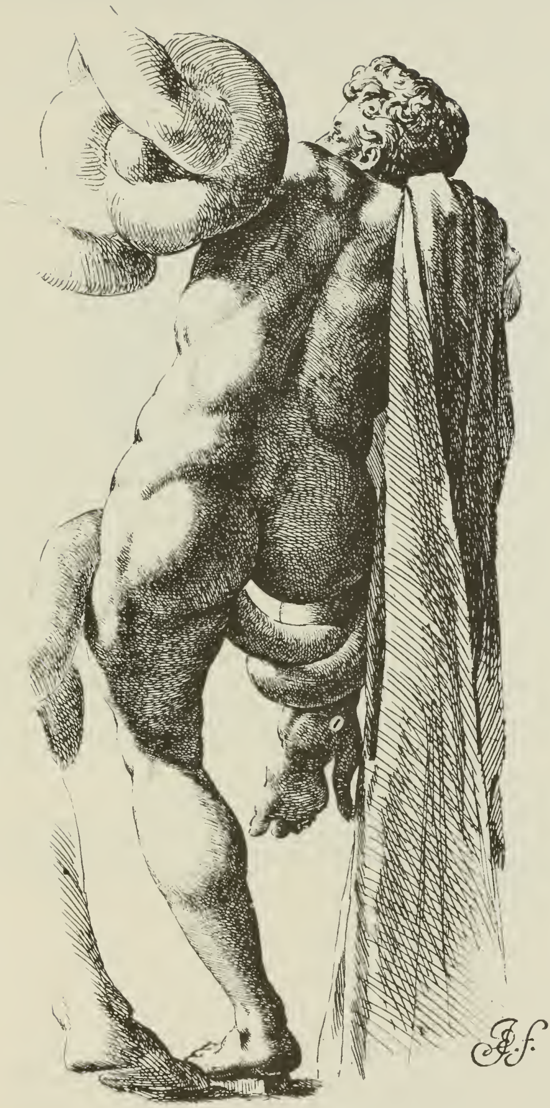
Fauſtina major. *ex marmore antiquo* *J. f.*

57



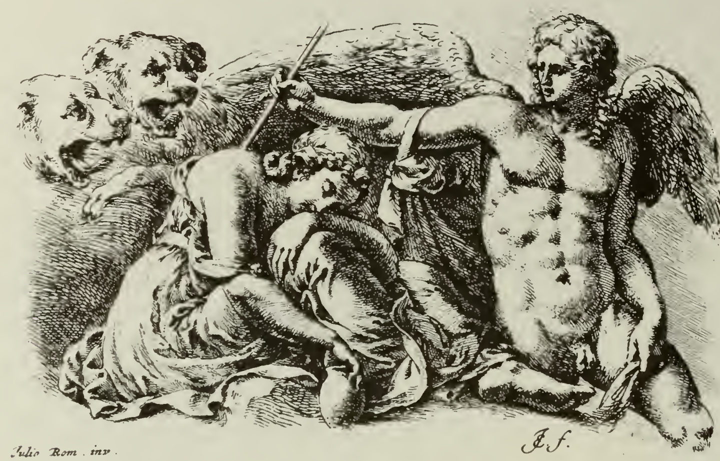
Commodus. *ex marmore antiquo.* *F. f.*


SIGNORVM
VETERVM
ICONES



J.G. van Gelder and Ingrid Jost

JAN DE BISSCHOP
ICONES and PARADIGMATA



English text partly translated from the Dutch, partly corrected by Patricia Wardle and Alan Griffiths (except for Chapter III a and b)

Volume 1 — Introduction c. 250 pp.

I General
II Composition and History
  (a) *Icones I* and *II*
  (b) *Paradigmata*
III The Dedications
  (a) Introduction to the translations by David Freedberg
  (b) Translations by David Freedberg
  (c) Comments on the contents
IV The Plates
  (a) *Icones I* and *II*
  (b) *Paradigmata*

Volume 2 — Reprints of the two works:

Engraved title, (4) pp., 50 plates,
typogr. title, (4) pp., 50 plates,
typogr. title, engr. title, 57 plates

Reprinted in Volume 2 are the first edition of the *Signorum veterum icones* and the second edition of the *Paradigmata graphices variorum artificum, Voor-Beelden der Teken-konst van verscheyde Meesters.*

Originally the *Icones* appeared in two separate volumes, here referred to as *Icones I,* published in 1668, and *Icones II*, published in 1669, but after the first edition the two parts were always published combined. Each volume originally had its own title-page and dedication followed by a list of contents and locations. All editions contain a hundred plates (Chapter II (a)).

The same number seems to have been planned for the *Paradigmata.* The present authors believe, however, that only one part of the *Paradigmata* was published in De Bisschop's lifetime, containing twenty-five plates of complete figures, together with a typographical title-page dated 1671 (the year of De Bisschop's death) and a dedication to John Six. To these were added, in the second and third editions, an engraved title-page (frontispiece) by Gerard de Lairesse and Plates 26–57; and it is in this form that the work is reprinted here, even though the contents obviously do not correspond with De Bisschop's programme (Chapter II (b)).

In both works the dedications are given both in Latin and Dutch, with the Latin first. The parallel texts are particularly useful in helping to clarify certain ambiguities due to various shifts in meaning that have taken place in Dutch since the seventeenth century. For this reason we thought it would be better for the English translation to be made direct from the Latin (Chapter III (b)).

The three people to whom the *Icones I, Icones II* and *Paradigmata* are dedicated – respectively, Constantijn Huygens the Younger, Johan Wtenbogard and Johan Six – are typical representatives of the circles in which De Bisschop moved. His interest in the antique and in drawings was certainly stimulated and cultivated by his contacts with the Huygens family and Johan Six. Six' ideas are interwoven with De Bisschop's in the dedication which reveals that Six' admiration for Rembrandt had already cooled appreciably by then and that more rational, Classicist views, which were clearly derived from France, had come to prevail (Chapter III (c)).

In *Icones I* and *Icones II* the dedications are followed by incomplete lists of contents and locations and in *Icones II* there is also an "Address to the Spectator". No such list is given in the *Paradigmata,* but the names of the inventor and/or draughtsman of the works reproduced are, on the other hand, given on many of the etchings, though unfortunately there is no mention of the locations of the drawings which must have been in Dutch collections at that time.

The plates in both books consist of etchings reproducing antique and Italian works of art. In the *Icones* these are antique statues, sculptural groups, some sixteenth-century imitations and Michelangelo's *Bacchus* which De Bisschop perhaps considered as being equal to the antique. As De Bisschop does not seem to have copied prints and etchings and as he made hardly any drawings of sculptures while he was in Rome himself, his choice of subjects for the *Icones* must have been determined in the first instance by the same criterion as that of the *Paradigmata, i.e.* the material available in the Northern Netherlands. This consisted of eight marble sculptures and, more important, of drawings of sculptures by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century artists, both Italian and northern, in Dutch collections, most of which can no longer be traced. The plates of the *Icones* are, therefore, important in several respects. In the first place they belong among the documentary material for the post-antique history of the antique sculptures, some of them showing little known or even unknown sixteenth- and seventeenth-century states of preservation, others being the only or the earliest known reproductions of the works in question. In some instances, including works from the Arundel collection, De Bisschop's etchings may even be said to be of high documentary value. This also holds good for the now lost intermediary drawings which he used as the immediate basis for his work, for without his publication we would know nothing of the drawings after the antique made by Jacques de Gheyn III in England and France and we would probably be equally ignorant of the fact that, among others, Poelenburgh, too, made careful drawings of antique sculptures. Finally, the *Icones* may even have been the first publication on antique sculpture that was not restricted to works to be found in Rome. The *Paradigmata* is significant in similar ways.

Each work of art reproduced in the *Icones* and *Paradigmata* is commented on in Chapter IV.

No connected study has so far been made of the interest in works of art of the past in the Northern Netherlands or of the history of collecting there. In Chapter I, which also contains general notes on the two works, the present authors endeavour to give an outline of both these aspects, as well as placing De Bisschop's publications in the context of the definite traditions to which they belong.

The original price for the reprint was Hfl. 270.–

In this new shape the prices are as follow:

Volume 1 + Volume 2 (Hfl. 120,–) (Hfl. 270,–)	Hfl. 390,–
Volume 1 only	Hfl. 175.–

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Varenstraat 41, Soest, Netherlands



Josephus Arpino inv. et del *Joannes Episcopius fecit*

with best wishes,
Anne-Marie

Visual Resources, Vol. III, pp. 235-247
0197–3762/86/0303–0235 $20.00/0

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Printed in the United States of America

Book Reviews

Jan G. van Gelder and Ingrid Jost, *Jan de Bisschop and his Icones & Paradigmata, Classical Antiquities and Italian Drawings for Artistic Instruction in Seventeenth Century Holland*. Keith Andrews, Editor. (Doornspijk, Davaco Publishers, 1985.)

2 vols.; Vol. 1, Text, 320 pp.; Vol. 2, 159 Plates, 14 pp. Text. Hfl. 475.00/US$ 170.00 (Text volume only: Hfl. 275.00/US$ 98.00) (ISBN 90 70288 22 2)

Jan G. van Gelder's interest in Jan de Bisschop began in the 1950s and resulted in an extensive article published in *Oud-Holland* in 1971 (LXXXVI, no. 4, pp. 201–88; here abbreviated as *Van Gelder 1971* and quoted from the 1972 offprint). This led to the idea, in 1969, of writing a brief introduction to a reprint of the *Icones* and the *Paradigmata,* an idea which in the course of time was expanded into writing, in collaboration with Ingrid I.E. van Gelder-Jost, an annotated catalogue raisonné with a full commentary. A good part of the catalogue was written by the time of the Van Gelders' deaths in 1980 and 1981 respectively.

Professor J. Bruyn, the guardian of the Van Gelders' intellectual legacy, entrusted Dr. Keith Andrews, the recently retired Keeper of Drawings and Prints at the National Gallery of Scotland, with editing their unfinished texts for the *Icones* and *Paradigmata.* As Keith Andrews explains in his foreword, he undertook the task as a labor of love and homage to his dear friends of many years. It is to the latter's great credit that the Van Gelders' uncompleted manuscript which in his words was "in somewhat of a disarray" with "nearly six hundred footnotes [that] had to be related to the various texts as they stood" could now be published. Keith Andrews deserves everybody's respect for accomplishing this difficult and complex task in such an exemplary way. David Freedberg translated Jan de Bisschop's three introductions into English. Thanks are also due to Joop van Coevorden of Davaco Publishers for this fine edition as well as to Egbert Haverkamp Begemann for his longtime support of the project.

As the Van Gelders explained in their introduction, their publication of Jan de Bisschop's *Icones* and *Paradigmata* was to be more than a catalogue raisonné, for it also was to provide a commentary on the history of collecting antiquities and Italian drawings in Holland in the seventeenth century. They thus prefaced the catalogue proper with a discussion of the Dutch *virtuosi* and the latter's interest in antique sculpture as well as Italian drawings. Furthermore, they placed the *Icones* and the *Paradigmata* in an historic context.

Jan de Bisschop, who went under the name of *Johannes Episcopius* (1628–71), was a lawyer turned accomplished amateur draftsman and engraver. In 1652/53, he settled in The Hague, where he became a lifelong friend of Constantijn Huygens the Elder and his sons Christiaen and Constantijn the Younger to whom he dedicated *Icones I*. The elder Huygens was also acquainted with the De Gheyn family and travelled to England in 1618 in the company of De Gheyn III, whose drawings De Bisschop reproduced in *Icones II* (see below).

The *Icones* with 100 Plates and the *Paradigmata* with 57 represent a type of publication that was planned, not only to serve a didactic purpose, but, it was hoped, to stimulate the curiosity of the literate public as well. De Bisschop selected antique and Renaissance sculptures together with Italian drawings which he reproduced on loose plates bound into a volume. His brief introductions, dedicated to Constantijn Huygens the Younger, Johannes Wtenbogaert, and Johan Six, formed the primary text. De Bisschop's *Address to the Art-loving Spectator (Aen den konstlievenden Aenschouwer)* which is a list of subjects and locations (not translated into English in the publication under review), informed the reader where—to the best of De Bisschop's knowledge—the original works were and who had published or discussed them earlier. This list included Albert Rubens *(De Re Vestiaria)*, Jean Jacques Boissard (*Romae urbis-topographiae. . .*), and of course François Perrier (see below).

In the original editions of the *Icones* and *Paradigmata*, these dedications appear first in Latin, then in Dutch. As Freedberg pointed out, De Bisschop wrote them first in Dutch and expanded them somewhat in the Latin version which followed. Of the three, the dedication to Johan Six in the *Paradigmata* is the most interesting since De Bisschop discusses his views on art and expands on his classicist ideas. He writes that Six advised him to "always express the beautiful in whatever way possible." A work of art, in their opinion, must have harmonious proportions and grace which should be present not just in each part but in the whole.

> "When each is assigned its own sort of beauty, then that is what we call decorum. . . There is thus so much in this one word beauty that by it is signified gracefulness of form both in the whole and in the parts, with each kind accurately distinguished, and consequently also the most important part of drawing. One therefore requires a profound knowledge of symmetry, line, and every perfection—not only of the human body (which is the most outstanding work of nature and of art), but also of everything which we see."

He goes on to name Raphael, Michelangelo, Correggio, and Titian among others as examples of the Old Masters, "because whoever strove after the beautiful is held in high esteem."

De Bisschop hoped the examples he chose would reflect the three qualities he prized so highly, namely *decorum, iudicium,* and *selectio (Paradigmata).* His endeavors, however, were restricted since he had access only to material available to him in Holland. The only contemporary artist he mentioned and praised as a "shining example" was Nicolas Poussin who had died in 1665. After 1660, French taste became increasingly significant in Holland. Constantyn Huygens the Elder (1596–1687) was one of its foremost supporters with De Bisschop an avid follower, as we see from his introduction to *Icones I,* where he wrote "Is not the sole thing which has made France (now deservedly owed the palm in this art) so skilled in art, the fact that it paid close and thorough attention to the statues at Rome, and honorably received and esteemed Poussin, the imitator of statues?" In general, De Bisschop was addressing himself to the *virtuosi* and collectors as well as to professional artists.

The plates in the *Icones* and *Paradigmata* reproduce almost exclusively the human figure, primarily seen from the front and side with a few rear views. De Bisschop compiled his examples primarily from antiquity, "since," in his words, "antiquity so judiciously selected from so great a variety of things whatever is excellent in nature herself (where the beautiful is often mixed with the unadmirable) it is rightly regarded as the best guide. . ." *(Icones I).*

The aim of the Van Gelders' was to trace the sculptures, drawings, and paintings represented in these 157 etchings in the *Icones* and in the *Paradigmata.* In so doing they established the provenance of each work De Bisschop reproduced and searched for contemporary as well as earlier visual records to see whether De Bisschop was the first to reproduce a given work of art. This visual evidence was also used to determine the

actual appearance of the respective sculptures, paintings, or drawings, their condition and the amount of restoration they had undergone by the seventeenth century. (The state of conservation is discussed as well). The research undertaken by the Van Gelders thus documents the visual history of each piece by listing first general articles which described copies after a given work, followed by actual drawings or prints they located, all enumerated in chronological order. Many of these visual documents were found in the most remote locations. The Van Gelders' perseverance in tracking down these representations is nothing less than astounding. Thanks to these visual precedents we are informed about the specific state of appearance of a sculpture, relief, drawing, painting, or fresco at a given time. Entries, tracing the history of frequently reproduced sculptures such as the *Laocoon* (Plates 16–17), the *Hercules Farnese* (Plates 8–11), the *Torso Belvedere* (Plates 24–25), or the *Arundel Homer* (Plates 71/72) are small essays in themselves even though the list of visual records had to be restricted to the best known examples and the most relevant literature.

A direct comparison of the plates in the Davaco publication here reviewed with the etchings in a second/third edition of the *Icones/Paradigmata* at the Yale Center for British Art in New Haven shows that the plates are reproduced in the same size as the etchings. The reprint, however, at times lacks the plate mark and thus does not always give a clear indication of the original size of the print. Moreover, the subtle plate tone found in the original etchings is missing which gives the plates a rather flat, uniform appearance.

Jan de Bisschop's *Signorum veterum icones* was published in two separate volumes, here referred to as *Icones I* and *Icones II*. *Icones I* (Plates 1–50), which appeared first in 1668, was dedicated to Constantijn Huygens the Younger (1628–97); *Icones II* (Plates 51–100), dedicated to Johannes Wtenbogaert (1609–81), the Receiver General, appeared in 1669. Thereafter, both volumes were published in one (De Bisschop himself considered them as a single publication), comprising a total of one hundred plates after antique statues or sculptural groups, two pseudo-antiques as well as Michelangelo's *Bacchus with Satyr.* Plates 1–27 and 51–75 are after male, Plates 28–50 and 76–100 after female sculptures. The only date, *1669*, is found on plate 59. De Bisschop's title page, representing the *Personification of the Art of Sculpture and Painting* (reproduced on the cover of this issue of *Visual Resouces),* is based on Battista Lorenzi del Cavaliere's figure at the left on Michelangelo's funeral monument in Santa Croce, Florence. The Davaco publication reprints the copy of the first edition (2nd or 3rd printing) in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam. The second edition of

the *Icones* has no dedications and generally is bound together with the third edition of the *Paradigmata.* A pirated copy of 50 plates was published in Augsburg by Johann Ulrich Kraus (1655–1719).

The direct model which De Bisschop actually acknowledges in his dedication in *Icones I,* was François Perrier's, *Icones et Segmenta nobilium signorum et statuarum quae Romae extant,* first published in Rome in 1638, also with 100 plates. (The first Dutch edition, copied by Cornelis van Dalen the Elder and the Younger, appeared in The Hague in 1638 as *Eigenlyke afbeeldingen van hondred der aldervermaerdste statuën of antique beelden staande binnen Rome).* In all, some twenty sculptures found in Perrier recur in De Bisschop's *Icones,* namely (in the order found in Perrier with Perrier's plate numbers in square brackets) *Icones I,* Plates 25 [title page], 16 [1], 11 [2], 8 [3], 9 [4], 5 [30], 6 [34], 18 [35], 21 [36], 61 [47] (?; the similarity is not as close as the Van Gelders suggest, in this reviewer's opinion), 15 [53], 33 [60] (rather than Plate 87, which is quoted under De Bisschop, Plate 33, where the figure is part of the much larger group of the *Niobids*), 42 [62], 43 [76], 44 [78], 47 [81], 49 [82], 48 [83], 46 [85]; *Icones II,* Plate 55 [18]. As the Van Gelders rightly pointed out the quality of De Bisschop's etchings is higher.

Both Perrier's and De Bisschop's *Icones* appear to have been used as teaching aids to train students in drawing from the model as late as the 18th century. An entry of April 2, 1766 in the archives of the City Drawing Academy of Amsterdam, for example, states that one week's assignment might consist of drawing a pose after one of the antique sculptures in the books of De Bisschop or Perrier. In other words, a model was posed in the attitude of an antique sculpture. (See Paul Knolle in *Simiolus,* 11, 1980, pp. 178–80). Gerard de Lairesse, in his *Grondlegginge der teekenkonst (Foundations of the Art of Drawing)* of 1701 elaborated on this idea further by explaining that when a model in the Academy was posed in the attitude of an antique statue, the less beautiful parts of the body could then be corrected with the aid of plaster casts, before the drawing might be completed from life. The classical ideal, exemplified in antique sculpture, was thus joined with drawing after a live model (see Knolle, *op.cit.*, p. 175).

How well thought of De Bisschop's *Icones* and *Paradigmata* were in England may be seen from a note Benjamin West wrote in November 1789 to Sir Joshua Reynolds, stuck into an album of drawings by Jan de Bisschop preserved at the Victoria & Albert Museum in London. It reads: "Bisschop was a good draughtsman & an excellent etcher, so that he knew perfectly well how to execute that wh[ich] he had undertaken and every Artist's shelf should support & protect his volume of drawings

as an inestimable treasure." Sir Joshua Reynolds himself referred to De Bisschop's *Icones* in his last *Discourse* delivered on 10 December 1790 as "a book which is in every young Artist's hands;—Bishop's Ancient Statues. . ." *(Discourses on Art,* ed. R.R. Wark, New Haven, 1975, pp. 273–74).

The only work on antique sculptures known in Holland before De Bisschop's *Icones,* was the *Signorum veterum icones* after some 100 sculptures in the collection of Gerard (1599–1658) and Jan Reynst (1601–46) in Amsterdam. Most of them were of mediocre quality and often heavily restored, as we can see from the few examples still extant today in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden (Gerard van Papenbroeck Bequest). The Reynst *Icones* were quite different in purpose from De Bisschop's, however, in that they were a second part of a catalogue published in the form of prints after paintings, primarily Italian, in the same collection, begun most likely around 1655 and published ca. 1670, again with a title page by De Lairesse. The Reynst collection was sold at auction in Amsterdam in 1670, an auction attended by De Bisschop. No sculpture formerly owned by the brothers Reynst was reproduced in De Bisschop's *Icones,* however. (For a reconstruction of the Reynst collection see Anne-Marie S. Logan, *The 'Cabinet' of the Brothers Jan and Gerard Reynst,* Amsterdam [Dutch Royal Academy], 1979).

In the 17th century, it was fashionable for the upper classes to own antique sculptures. A group of antique sculptures, for example, purchased by Michel Le Blon (1587–1658) in Antwerp in 1646 and shipped to Amsterdam found no less than 26 buyers, among them Rembrandt, Thomas de Keyser and Hendrick Scholten. Several of these sculptures are known today, primarily thanks to De Bisschop's etchings (Plates 63–69, 79/80); three are still extant in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden, again part of the Van Papenbroeck Bequest (Plates 63, 67, 68) and two are at the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum in Braunschweig (Plates 64, 66).

In his dedication to Huygens in the *Icones I,* De Bisschop states that the images shown here "are of the highest artistic perfection, and the very best examples for serious students of painting." He "cannot stop wondering at the perfect grace in each and the most accurately distinguished variety of all of them, joined with the greatest simplicity and all the other excellent qualities. In collecting them," he continues, "I have made use of the kindness and works of friends who drew them at Rome and were not unwilling to allow me to use them for this purpose. There are some other drawings besides, whose authors were unknown to me. I have thus made use of the eyes of others; but they are superior to my own. A

greater number of drawings would have appeared if there had been a larger supply at my [De Bisschop's] disposal." In one instance, De Bisschop made use of drawings by no less than four different artists to render five different views of one sculpture, *The Two Wrestlers*, namely by one of the Neefs (Plate 18), by Doncker (Plates 19, 22), Doudijns (Plate 20) and Backer (Plate 21). As for the *Torso Belvedere* (Plate 25), De Bisschop reproduced two identical views on the same plate, drawn separately by Doncker and Doudijns. He also suggested that "should anyone be dissatisfied that several aspects of the same sculpture are represented, let him trust that they will be both of service and of pleasure to beginners." This same feature of giving several different views of the same sculpture is known in the beginning of the century from Rubens' copies after the *Laocoon*, for example (Milan, Ambrosiana) and is also found in Perrier's *Icones*.

De Bisschop was careful to point out that all the etchings were taken from original drawings which were put into print as faithfully as possible, neither adding nor removing anything, so that the genius of each might remain (which, based on visual evidence, was not always the case, for the drawing by Cavalier d'Arpino in the Louvre, as the Van Gelders pointed out, deviated markedly from De Bisschop's etching in the *Paradigmata*, Plate 10). De Bisschop dedicated the second part of the *Icones* to Johannes Wtenbogaert (also spelled Johan or Joannes Wtenbogard, Wttenbogaert, Uttenbogaert, Uyttenbogaert) "since your cultivated generosity ungrudgingly opened your collections filled with so many elegant works of art to me, and willingly allowed me not only to see them but also to use whatever I wished." De Bisschop continued that he appreciated Wtenbogaert was "no jealous owner, and [you] willingly share the use and pleasure of your possessions."

For, in the words of De Bisschop, many collectors did not like to have their works copied because it supposedly diminished their value; others, on the other hand, thought that the worth of something increased if it was so highly regarded by many. This was a crucial point for De Bisschop, since he never travelled to Italy (his trip to Rome is hypothetical), nor to England or France. Instead, he had to rely on antiquities and Italian drawings either available to him for copying in Holland or he had to depend on drawings by others. The drawings in question which De Bisschop alluded to in his dedication to Wtenbogaert and which he was allowed to put into print, were by Francesco Salviati (1510–63) and by Jacques de Gheyn III (1595/96–1641). At the time De Bisschop put them into print they were

in Wtenbogaert's possession but are lost today, except for a drawing by Salviati of a *Draped Female Statue* which the Van Gelders located at Windsor Castle (*Icones*, Plate 100) and possibly a study in Berlin of the *Arundel Homer* (Plate 72), which the Van Gelders attribute, with reservations, to De Gheyn III. (The family relationship between Wtenbogaert and De Gheyn III is not quite clear. De Bisschop refers to him in the introduction as 'uw Neve' which Freedberg translated as 'your nephew [De Gheyn III]'. According to the Van Gelders, they were cousins [p. 18]. Van Regteren Altena, [1983, pp. 2–3; see below] suggested that De Gheyn's grandmother might have been a Wtenbogaert; see also J.Q. van Regteren Altena, *Jacques de Gheyn*, Amsterdam, 1935, pp. 128–32 for De Gheyn's will, which speaks of *neve*).

The drawings by De Gheyn which De Bisschop mentioned are after sculptures De Gheyn had seen during his visit to England in the company of the elder Huygens in the summer of 1618, among them the Arundel marbles now at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (71/72, 74, 91, 98) and at Hall Barn, Beaconsfield (Plate 88) as well as to France in 1619. (The reference to *van Regteren Altena, 19* in *footnote 1* for Plates 90–92, 94 has no follow-up. De Gheyn III's drawings after the antique, however, are included in J.Q. van Regteren Altena, *Jacques de Gheyn; Three Generations*, The Hague, 1983, II, pp. 176–77, nos. 89–104). De Gheyn's drawings in *Icones II* (Plates 89–90, 92–96) may actually include some of the "six statues" most likely destroyed in 1671, but earlier again in the Arundel collection. (van Regteren Altena [cat. 91] added the sculpture of *Caninius* [Plate 73] to the Arundel marbles, which is not supported in a comparison between the statues reproduced in D.E.L. Haynes, *The Arundel Marbles*, Oxford, 1975, and De Bisschop's etching. According to the Van Gelders the statue is in the Louvre).

In addition, De Bisschop used drawings after antique statues in Rome and Florence by Willem Doudijns (1630–97; in Italy perhaps from before 1650, in Rome from about 1653 onward, back in Holland in January of 1661); Cornelis van Poelenburgh (1586–1667; in Italy from 1617–22, possibly until 1625/26, in Rome about 1620); and Adriaen Backer (1635/36–51; in Italy in 1666). Furthermore, he reproduced copies by Pieter P. Doncker (ca. 1635–68; Italy from 1662 until 1666); Nicolaes Willing ('Wieling', born ca. 1640; back in Holland in 1661); Dirk Ferreris and Jacob Matham. Slightly more than one third or seventeen of the plates in *Icones I* are after drawings by Doudijns, thirteen are after Doncker, six after Backer, eleven after unknown draftsmen and

the remaining are after Matham, Ferreris, one of the Neefs, and 'Wieling'. In *Icones II,* De Bisschop etched nine of his own drawings after eight antique sculptures he was able to copy in the Amsterdam collections of Hendrick Scholten (Plates 66–69) and Gerard (Gerrit) Uylenburgh (Plates 63–65, 79/80; in the present publication, his name is also spelled Wlenborg; Van Gelder 1971, used Uylenborgh). Besides the sixteen drawings by Jacques de Gheyn III, mentioned earlier, De Bisschop reproduced nine by Cornelis van Poelenburgh, while the draftsmen of at least eleven other designs remain unknown.

One of the Van Gelders' conclusions was that the eight sculptures available to De Bisschop in the two Amsterdam collections just mentioned were heavily restored and of poor quality. Based on today's knowledge, furthermore, the antique sculptures in the *Icones* in general are of varying quality; while some are famous, others are little known. Among the few originals are three or four Hellenistic works, seven or eight Roman, with the remaining mostly copies after Greek originals of the fourth and third centuries B.C.

In all, the whereabouts of twelve sculptures, primarily female statues reproduced at the end of *Icones II* most often after drawings by De Gheyn III, copied in England and France (Plates 59, 65, 69, 79/80, 87, 89–90, 92–96) remain unknown, while the identifications of others are problematical (Plates 76–77, 83). Still others are known to have perished (Plate 81). The present Davaco publication which reproduces each of De Bisschop's etchings hopefully will assist in identifying a few additional pieces.

As De Bisschop stated himself in his introduction to the *Paradigmata,* "it seemed right to begin by publishing a volume of antique sculptures (inasmuch as they are the most perfect works of art), with the intention of following it with the works of the most outstanding Italians" and in so doing to give as many examples as possible, "in order to make all the qualities manifest."

The *Paradigmata graphices variorum Artificium: Voor-Beelden der Teken-Konst van verscheyde Meesters,* dedicated to Jan (Johan) Six (1618–1700) was first published in The Hague in 1671, the year De Bisschop died. Although the first edition contains 57 etchings, it seems more likely that one hundred were planned originally (see below). As De Bisschop explains in his introduction, he was to divide the *Paradigmata* into four parts, I: representations of the human body; II: complete figures, III: various attitudes; and IV: compositions. Plates 1–25 which belong to part II, were published first in order to find out how well the publication would

be received. Two of De Bisschop's intermediary drawings for plates 11 and 41 in the *Paradigmata* are dated *1667* which indicates that he most likely started the project in the last three years of his life.

The present enlarged edition which comprises 57 plates and a title page by Gerard de Lairesse (1641–1711), representing the *Genius of Jan de Bisschop,* most probably was published posthumously. The fact that De Lairesse represented De Bisschop in an idealized portrait bust placed on an antique sarcophagus with the figure of Eternal Fame hovering above strongly supports this notion. The possible dates for the publication, according to the Van Gelders, are as late as 1674 or 1675. Plates 26–57 most likely were finished at the time of De Bisschop's death in 1671 and thus added to the 25 plates published earlier. This would also help explain inconsistencies such as the inclusion of the ten busts of "uomini illustri" in the *Paradigmata* rather than in the *Icones.* As the Van Gelders noted, these Greek and Roman philosophers and poets, included at the end of the *Paradigmata,* appear out of place and probably were intended for another publication. In their opinion they most likely even predate the *Icones.* (The only bust known today is *Commodus,* formerly in the Tessin collection and now in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm). Equally uncertain is the inclusion of prints after drawings attributed to Maerten van Heemskerck after antique and Renaissance sculptures (Plates 34–37). If we assume that the *Paradigmata* was planned with 100 plates and that the ten busts just mentioned do not belong, we may suppose that the volume, as originally planned by De Bisschop, is missing at least 53 plates. (J. Bolten, *Het Noord- en Zuidnederlandse Tekenboek 1600–1750,* Ter Aar, 1979, p. 41 prefers the idea that De Bisschop himself still was responsible for the publication of the enlarged edition of the *Paradigmata;* the 1985 book version was unavailable to this reviewer).

The copy here reprinted is based on the first impression of the second edition formerly in the collection of the Van Gelders. This particular copy was selected because it was never bound and the sheets seem to have been preserved in their original size (ca. 304 × 195 mm); the etchings are all in the third state. Moreover, it belongs among the earliest impressions of the *Paradigmata* known and includes all the titles, pages, plates and inscriptions found in other editions and impressions. (The book was reissued a number of times until about 1800.)

Only a few of the forty-seven drawings De Bisschop reproduced in the *Paradigmata* are strictly speaking "original old master drawings" by artists like Cesare d'Arpino, Baccio Bandinelli, Annibale Carracci, Michelangelo, Salviati, and others. In addition, we find copies after Italian drawings and paintings as well as after antique and Renaissance sculp-

ture. Whether they were then in the collection of Jan Six, to whom the volume is dedicated, can no longer be established. At least fourteen of the artists listed in the catalogue of the sale of the Six collection in Amsterdam in 1702 are also represented in the *Paradigmata.* One thing is certain, however, all the drawings De Bisschop included were in the second half of the 17th century in Dutch collections.

In both the *Icones* and the *Paradigmata,* Jan de Bisschop signed all the etchings at bottom right with the monogram *JE (Johannes Episcopius)* either with an additional *f (fecit)* if he made the etching only or *d & f (delineavit* and *fecit)* if he was responsible for the preliminary drawing as well (i.e., Plates 63–69, 79–80). One of these drawings, a *Crouching Venus* for *Icones 80,* is in the Fondation Custodia, F. Lugt Collection, Paris (reproduced in Van Gelder 1971, fig. 56). If De Bisschop worked from other artists' drawings, which is most often the case, he inscribed the respective name at bottom left. If he did not know who was responsible for the drawing he reproduced in print, no name is given. Several intermediary drawings by De Bisschop in pen and brown ink and brown wash for the *Icones* (Plates 64, 65, 68, 79, 80) as well as for the *Paradigmata* (Plates 11, 29c, 41) are known, among them *Examples of Standing Figures* after Baccio Bandinelli and others for *Paradigmata* (Plate 29), last recorded in the collection of R. Wittkower (reproduced in Van Gelder 1971, fig. 63). They are all in reverse of De Bisschop's etchings but are not traced for transfer. The Van Gelders suppose that De Bisschop made them in order not to damage the original drawings in the process of transposing them into print, and/or, to combine elements from a number of different prototypes into the final design to be reproduced.

The Van Gelders were able to trace at least one drawing, representing *St. Mark,* attributed to or copied after Taddeo Zuccaro in the Witt Collection in London (Plate 39), all the way back to the 17th-century Amsterdam collection of Arnold van Bergestein (Bergesteyn). Five drawings included in the *Paradigmata* belonged to Nicolaes Anthoni Flinck (1646–1723) and have been at Chatsworth since 1723 [Plate 7: Cesare d'Arpino; Plate 11: Sebastiano del Piombo after Michelangelo; Plate 38: (probably identical with) Baccio Bandinelli; Plate 41 and 44a: Giulio Romano. The *Musical Contest between Apollo and Pan,* by or after Giulio Romano at Chatsworth, together with Jan de Bisschop's intermediary drawing in the Vosmaer collection in Leiden as well as his etching in the *Paradigmata,* Plate 41, are reproduced in Van Gelder 1971, figs. 67–69].

Three other drawings, identified by the Van Gelders and traced to the present day, are the *Galley Slave Labouring at the Oar* by Annibale Carracci (Plate 28; in 1971 with the Galerie Claude Aubry, Paris; reproduced in

Van Gelder 1971, fig. 61), a copy of *Polyphemus* supposedly by Daniele da Volterra but actually by Pellegrino Tibaldi after Michelangelo (Plate 14; more likely the drawing in Hamburg than the version in the Uffizi, mentioned in Van Gelder 1971, p. 26, note 111), and *5 Female Musicians* by Federico Zuccaro now at the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge (Plate 42; reproduced in Van Gelder 1971, figs. 71–72). Other drawings the Van Gelders located in the "2. Garnitur" in the Albertina, Vienna (Plate 1), in the Louvre (Plates 10, 12, 13, 28b), in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Plate 40; reproduced in Van Gelder 1971, fig. 65), and elsewhere.

The inscriptions on the etchings in the *Paradigmata,* moreover, inform us about the state of connoisseurship of Italian drawings in Holland in the seventeenth century. In one instance, De Bisschop himself questioned an attribution to Fra Bartolommeo (Plate 29c) as we learn from his intermediary drawing last recorded in the collection of Professor Wittkower which he inscribed *Fra Bart.o ut ferunt sed non videtur verisimile.* Jonathan Richardson in his *Traité de la Peinture et de la Sculpture,* published in Amsterdam in 1722 and 1728, was the first to correct some of the attributions found in the *Paradigmata* (i.e., Plates 22, 28d, 38b, 39b); others were changed at the sale of drawings owned by Lambert ten Kate (1732) and A. Rutgers (1778). Mariette pointed out in the *Abecedario* (ed. 1854–56, p. 57 f.) that Plate 47 in the *Paradigmata* was not after Francesco Vanni but Giovanni Lanfranco. Reynolds, in his *Discourses,* corrected two wrong attributions to Michelangelo (Plates 14, 22). The Van Gelders found additional incorrect attributions to Michelangelo (Plates 12, 13a, 13b), Baccio Bandinelli (Plate 34; reattributed in 1939 by U. Middeldorf to Giovanni Bandini, 1540–1598/99) and Maerten van Heemskerck (Plates 36, 37).

Based on earlier visual records, moreover, the Van Gelders were able to demonstrate that De Bisschop's etching of the "white" (hanging) *Marsyas* in the Uffizi (Plate 55) cannot possibly have been based on a drawing by Andrea del Sarto, as the print states, since del Sarto died in 1530, or fifty to sixty years before the sculpture was restored to the state represented in the *Icones,* for the unrestored statue is recorded in a sketchbook in Cambridge, dated ca. 1583. Thanks to De Bisschop's etchings once more, the Van Gelders were also able to identify the fragmentary sculpture rediscovered in 1972 by D.E.L. Haynes at Fawley Court, Henley-on-Thames with the so-called *Arundel Homerus.* The sculpture was on loan by the Divine Mercy College to the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford and has recently been acquired for the collection (see *Burlington Magazine,* CXXVI, 1984, p. 535, fig. 77).

In their last article "Rubens, Poelenburgh and an Antique Aphrodite" in *Ars Auro Prior*, the *Festschrift* published in honor of Jan Bialostocki (Warsaw 1981, pp. 465–75), the Van Gelders showed just how reliable a visual record these etchings by Jan de Bisschop were by comparing the *Two Views of an Aphrodite (Icones II*, Plate 82) after an *Aphrodite* statue in the Uffizi (Inv. 155) with two drawings in the so-called Rubens *cantoor* in Copenhagen (Inv. III, 65–66) which are studio copies after supposedly lost drawings Rubens made during his stay in Italy between 1600 and 1608: the two independently drawn copies clearly represent the same statue in the same state, i.e., without a head and most of the arms missing. De Bisschop's plates, therefore, are a reliable source and, as the Van Gelders showed, still may be used today to assist in identifying antique sculptures whose past history cannot be established with certainty.

Although the *Icones* had an enormous success and were used in the academies and consulted by collectors throughout the eighteenth century, there nevertheless were some contemporaries, among them the collector Everhard Jabach (1618–95), who felt some of the sculptures in De Bisschop's plates lacked what he called "air des testes". This Van Gelder interpreted to mean that the essence of the sculptures had not been reproduced carefully enough (see Van Gelder 1971, p. 20 and Appendix IV, 3 and VI, 13).

In conclusion we may say that De Bisschop's major contribution most likely was his attempt to introduce the art of drawing both from models as from the Antique to the academic training in Holland. As a matter of fact, in 1682, the first drawing academy in the Northern Netherlands was inaugurated in The Hague. The teaching of drawing was revised to include drawing from the antique, plaster casts as well as from the live model. A century later, in 1782, De Bisschop's *Signorum veterum Icones* was among the prizes awarded to pupils of the drawing school for beginners at the Amsterdam Drawing Academy.

Anne-Marie Logan
Yale Center for British Art

CORNELIS DE BIE

Het Gulden Cabinet vande edel vrij Schilder-const inhoudende den Lof vande vermarste schilders, architecte beldhower ende plaetsnyders van dese eeuw

1971. Engr. titlepage, 586 pp. and 103 pts. of portraits. Half leather
= Reprint of the original edition Antwerp, 1661

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Cornelis de Bie (1627-after 1711) was a notary in his native town of Lier who made his mark in history or more precisely in art history, with his Gulden Cabinet, a series of biographies and panegyrics on artists. His subjects are mostly South Netherlandish painters sculptors and architects of the 17th and late 16th centuries. Chamberlin 1990.

Hfl. 250.–/U.S.$ 102.05

J.G. van Gelder and Ingrid Jost

JAN DE BISSCHOP – ICONES and PARADIGMATA

English text partly translated from the Dutch, partly corrected by Patricia Wardle and Alan Griffiths (except for Chapter III a and b)

Reprinted in Volume 2 are the first edition of the *Signorum veterum icones* and the second edition of the *Paradigmata graphices variorum artificium, Voor-Beelden der Teken-konst van verscheyde Meesters.* Both works consist of texts and a series of etchings reproducing works of art. Extensive discussions of all aspects of these are given in Volume 1, including comments on each of the works of art in question.

The texts of the dedications are important inasmuch as they contain the first exposition to appear in print of the Classicist theory of art in the Northern Netherlands, which was clearly derived from France. The works of art reproduced in the plates are either antique or Italian, sculpture in the *Icones*, drawings plus some sculpture in the *Paradigmata*. De Bisschop does not seem to have copied prints in making his plates and he hardly made any drawings of sculpture while he was in Rome himself, so that his choice of subjects for both works was determined in the first instance by the same criterion, *i.e.* the material available in the Northern Netherlands, whether actual sculpture or drawings of sculpture, drawings or copies of drawings. Notwithstanding this limitation the plates of the *Icones* are important in several respects. They belong among the documentary material for the post-antique history of the antique sculptures, some of them showing little known or even unknown sixteenth- and seventeenth-century states of preservation, others being the only or the earliest known reproductions of the works in question. In some instances, including works from the Arundel collection, the etchings may even be said to be of high documentary value. This also holds good for the now lost intermediary drawings which De Bisschop used as the immediate basis for his work, for without his publication we would know nothing of the drawings after the antique made by Jacques de Gheyn III in England and France and we would probably be equally ignorant of the fact that – among others – Poelenburgh, too, made careful drawings of antique sculptures. The *Paradigmata* is significant in similar ways.

history of collecting in the Northern Netherlands. The authors endeavour to give an outline of both in Chapter I, as well as placing De Bisschop's publications in the context of the definite traditions to which they both belong.



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typogr. title, engr. title, 97 plates

1982-83

Volume I + Volume II c. Hfl. 390.–
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Hfl. 80.–/U.S.$ 32.65

23 xi '81
for JGH, with much respect and admiration Amy

Jan de Bisschop's *St. Helena* after Veronese

Amy E. Golahny

CHIEFLY APPRECIATED today for his airy, refined landscapes in glowing reddish-brown ink, Jan de Bisschop (1628–1671) received brief but significant notice in Houbraken's compendium of painters for his careful drawings after sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Netherlandish, German, and Italian paintings.[1] Not a painter himself but an advocate, De Bisschop was praised for his copies after the paintings of others. Close to two hundred of these have survived, and they reflect their author's intense historical and stylistic concern for painting. An additional testimony to his interest in sixteenth-century Venetian art is provided by the sheet belonging to the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia, and depicting Veronese's *Vision of St. Helena* (Pl. 22), a familiar canvas in the National Gallery, London (no. 1041. Here Fig. 1).[2]

Executed primarily in brush and ink, the sheet contains a few pen lines that describe separate wing feathers and curls of the putti. Black chalk underdrawing emphasizes the deepest folds of the saint's gown, hardens the edges of her sleeves, and strengthens her upraised foot, her coiffure, hands, and profile; the architectural elements, too, are accented in black chalk. In small, gradated strokes, the brush mimics the shimmer of the velvet or satin texture of Helena's dress. As an accurate compositional record, the drawing reveals that the canvas was originally larger at the top and sides. Although slightly worn and faded, the sheet makes an impressive statement about De Bisschop's purpose in copying paintings: to capture the personal brushwork of the painter's oil in ink upon paper.

In his authoritative study of Jan de Bisschop, J. G. van Gelder has placed all the copy drawings in the years ca. 1660 to 1671, following the artist's trip to Italy, probably in 1655 or 1657, and during continuous residence in Holland, principally The Hague.[3] Veronese's painting must have been in the northern Netherlands in order to receive De Bisschop's attention; the picture may have belonged to Peter Paul Rubens (1640)[4] and to the Arundel collection (1656),[5] and was engraved by Lucas Vorsterman.[6] Yet written documentation hitherto unconnected to the London painting securely places it in Amsterdam, convenient to the sharp eye and skilled brush of our copyist.

Philips de Flines (1640–1700) had one of the largest art collections of his day in Amsterdam, and specialized in Italian paintings and drawings.[7] In honor of his collection, Govaert Bidloo wrote a lengthy



Fig. 1 PAOLO VERONESE. Vision of St. Helena.
London, National Gallery.

poem, first published in 1681; after a preliminary homage to the collector, description of individual works of art opens with Veronese's *St. Helena:*[8]

My wenkt de schildery, daar HELENA in leeft,
En Paulus, met Verone een eeuwige eernaam geeft.
Geen Trooische HELENE; maar die door't kruis
bewoogen,
Met KONSTANTIJN haar zoon, sloeg op God zoon haaré
oogen;
Toen met MAXENTIUS, verwonnen op een dag,
Die Waereld wierd getemt door een gevreesden slag.
Hier ziet men tekening, en plooi van vleesch, en laaken,
Die niet als 't roeren van het leeven kan verzaaken.

Only one other painting received eight lines, and it, too, was drawn by Jan de Bisschop: Alessandro Turchi's *Omnia Vincit Amor* (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Inv. C 1372).[9] Thus, it is quite likely that De Bisschop drew *St. Helena,* together with Turchi's allegory of love, in De Flines' house on the Herengracht. Far more eloquently than Bidloo's verse, the Philadelphia drawing bears witness to the high admiration for Veronese's *St. Helena* in seventeenth-century Holland.

1. Arnold Houbraken, *De Groote Schouburgh Der Nederlantsche Konstschilders en Schilderessen,* Amsterdam, 1718–1721, III, p. 167.
2. The drawing measures 351 by 206 mm., and bears the provisional inventory number 182. The watermark is a variant of Churchill 327 (with an appendage).
3. J. G. van Gelder, "Jan de Bisschop 1628–1671," *Oud Holland,* LXXXVI, 1971, pp. 201–88.
4. Inventory of the pictures of Rubens' house at his death, 1640, published in J. Denucé, *The Antwerp Galleries, Inventories of the Art Collections in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,* Antwerp, 1932, p. 57, no. 22.
5. Lionel Cust, "Notes on the Collections Formed by Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, K.G.," *Burlington Magazine,* XIX, 1911, p. 284.
6. Henri Hymans, *Lucas Vorsterman, catalogue raisonné de son œuvre,* Brussels, 1893, cat. 71; the dedicatory inscription to Helena de Bran, wife of Hieronymous de Bran, a military agent for the Piccolomini Dukes of Amalfi in the Spanish Netherlands, and the

vicissitudes of Vorsterman's printmaking activity both indicate a date within the 1640's or 1650's for the engraving.

7. The De Flines sale catalogue of 1700 does not include the London canvas, and it seems that the picture had been transferred some years previously, perhaps even as early as the 1680's, to England. I am grateful to Christopher Brown, Deputy Keeper, National Gallery, London, for permitting me access to the gallery's files.

8. Govaert Bidloo, "Aan den heere Filips de Flines, op zyne Kunstkamer van beelden, medalien, schilderyen, tekeningen, en prenten," in *Mengelpoezij*, Leiden, 1719, I, pp. 173–85; the verse concerning Veronese's painting appears on p. 178, and the collection poem was first published as a twelve-page booklet in 1681. A translation of the relevant lines reads:

   I am beckoned to the painting in which lives Helena,
   And which gives Paulus, with Verona, an eternal
   name of honor.
   Not a Trojan Helena, but she who is moved by the
   cross,
   With Constantine her son, fixed her eyes upon God's
   son;
   Conquered, one day, Maxentius and
   The World became subdued through a fearful battle.
   Here one sees drawing and the folds of flesh and
   cloths,
   That cannot be forsaken as if moved by life itself.

   For brief discussion of the De Flines collection, see S. A. C. Dudok van Heel, "Honderdvijftig advertenties van kunstvorkopingen uit veertig jaargangen van de Amsterdamsche Courant 1672–1711," *Jaarboek Amstelodamum*, LXXVI, 1975, pp. 149–73, esp. pp. 150–51 and 161.

9. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, on loan from the Mauritshuis, The Hague; Van Gelder, *op. cit.*, fig. 53.

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E p i s c o p i u s

Jan de Bisschop (1628 – 1671)

advocaat en tekenaar

Jan de Bisschop – hij werd in het Latijn Episcopius genoemd – was een Haags advocaat. De tekeningen en etsen die hij uit liefhebberij maakte, zijn van zeer hoge kwaliteit, maar genieten nog weinig bekendheid.
De Bisschop is wellicht de enige 17de-eeuwse kunstena die erin slaagde in zijn tekeningen op overtuigende wijz het zonlicht weer te geven. Voor deze tentoonstelling zijn zo'n zeventig topstukken bijeengebracht.
Zij geven een representatief beeld van zijn werk dat bestaat uit landschappen, figuurstudies en kopieën naar oude meesters en tijdgenoten.

lawyer and draughtsman

Jan de Bisschop – he was called Episcopius in Latin – was a lawyer in The Hague. Although the drawings and etchings he made as an amateur are of very high quality, they are still little known.
De Bisschop is perhaps the only 17th-century artist who succeeded in rendering sunlight convincingly in his drawings. For this exhibition seventy masterpieces have been brought together. They provide a representative survey of his work, which consists of landscapes, figure studies and copies after old masters and contemporaries.

Tentoonstelling:
19.12.1992 t/m 28.02.1993

Openingstijden
maandag - zaterdag 10-17
zon- en feestdagen 13-17
nieuwjaarsdag gesloten.

Te bereiken met
tram 9 en *14* halte Waterlooplein,
metro halte Nieuwmarkt,
NS-dagtocht 24, Museumboot.

Catalogus: volledig geïllustreerd, Engelse samenvattingen.

Exposition:
19.12.1992 – 28.02.1993

Hours of opening
Monday - Saturday I
Sundays and holidays I
closed at New-Year's day.

Approachable with
tram 9 and *14* stop Waterloop
underground stop Nieuwmarkt,
NS-daytrip 24, Museumboat.

Catalogue: in Dutch, fully illustrat English summaries.

Deze tentoonstelling is mogelijk gemaakt dankzij bijdragen van o.a. **het Ministerie van Welzijn, Volksgezondheid en Cultuur en**
This exhibition was made possible by **the Ministry of Welfare, Public Health and Cultural Affairs and**

DeSter

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Het Rembrandthuis

Museum

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Episcopius

Jan de Bisschop (1628 – 1671)

advocaat en tekenaar

lawyer and draughtsman



19 december 1992 t/m 28 februari 1993

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JAN de BISSCHOP

and his

ICONES & PARADIGMATA

Classical Antiquities and Italian Drawings
for Artistic Instruction in
Seventeenth Century Holland

JAN G. VAN GELDER and INGRID JOST

Keith Andrews
Editor

DAVACO

in the same state, as Arrighetti's drawing and Gori's plate, although in the etching the vase is not recognizable as such. Since the vase and the garment are already mentioned in Vasari's list, this detail must have been carelessly drawn by the artist whose drawing De Bisschop reproduced, and whose name is not mentioned on his plate.

In his list of contents and locations, De Bisschop says that the statue is "in aedibus Mediceis" – "in 't Paleys van Medices", a location which he otherwise used for statues inside the Villa Medici, Rome. He obviously had a drawing with the inscription "Medici" at his disposal and did not know that the statue was actually in Florence. He further says that it is not so very different from the Greek Venus "in the same palace" (the so-called *Venus de' Medici*, which was still in Rome in his time; plates 47-50), and that – according to Cavalieri, III.IV, 67 – it seems it was previously in the Farnese collection (which was not the case); Cavalieri's plate in fact shows another version.[7]

Copies of and early references to the plate:
Kraus, *Icones*, plate 44, in reverse.
Richardson, *Traité*, III, 1728, p. 107.[8]

1. Florence, Uffizi, inv. no. 4530 F, in the volume *La Galleria di Firenze nel sec^{o}. XVIII°, 1° e 2° Corridore*, inv. nos. 4492-4534 F, fol. 80 recto. According to the authors of *Mostra storica della Tribuna*, 1970-71, sub no. 10, this volume was completed by 1753; see also note 2.
2. In the 1704 inventory, it is listed among the sculptures in the east, i.e. first corridor; in the 1753 inventory in the west, i.e. third corridor. In fact, like the other sculptures lost in 1762, it must at that time have been at the north end; see Mansuelli, *Cat.*, II, 1961, pp. 175 and 202.
3. Mosco, 1980, p. 14.
4. Vasari, *Vite*, 1568, Secondo et ultimo volume della *Terza Parte*, printed before G. di M. Marcello Adriani's letter to Vasari; see Müntz, in *MémInstAcInscr*, 1896, p. 160, Daly Davis, 1980, and our entry on *Icones* 82, notes 1 and 12.
5. See Clarac, plates 617-624 = Reinach, *St.*, I, 331-335; for the general literature on *Aphrodite* see the entry on plate 46.
6. See also Van Gelder and Jost, 1981, "Aphrodite".
7. Ashby's (p. 152) tentative identification with Ruesch, no. 307 (6286), Clarac 617, 1372 = Reinach, *St.*, I, 331, 3, can hardly be correct.
8. However, in both the French and the English editions (*Account*, 1722 and 1754, p. 59, without reference to any reproduction) the statue or statuette is described in the chapter on the Tribuna ("... A Venus, the same as the famous one; 'tis very good, but much inferior to that which is just by it. ...") not under the heading "Antique Statues", but among the statuettes and miniatures on the shelf, after the paintings. Since the *Aphrodite* shown in De Bisschop's etching is not known ever to have been in the Tribuna, the most likely explanation is that the younger Richardson had actually described a statuette, and that the reference to De Bisschop's plate was erroneously added to the French edition by Rutgers.

82 APHRODITE

The statue:
Present state: with an antique but alien head, with only the upper arms and without the upper parts of the garment. The base, the feet, the lower part of the garment, and parts of the neck and face are modern additions. The antique parts, with the exception of the legs, have been repolished at an unknown date.
Marble, h. 189 cm.; Florence, Uffizi, inv. no. 155.
LIT.: for manuscript and other early references see below.– Dütschke, III, 1878, p. 64, no. 101.– Hallo, 1927, pp. 193-220.– Mansuelli, *Cat.*, I, 1958, pp. 127-128, no. 89.– Mansuelli, *Cat.*, II, 1961, pp. 187 and 217.– H. Keutner, "Die Bronzevenus des Bartolommeo Ammannati ...", *MüJb*, 1963, pp. 79-92.– Mansuelli, 1977, p. 438.– Van Gelder and Jost, 1981, all with additional literature.[1]
VISUAL RECORDS: anonymous mid-sixteenth-century drawing (with a head but without arms), Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland, inv. no. RSA 800, black chalk, 288 x 108 mm.[2].– Stucco copy in the Casa Vasari, Arezzo (same state)[3].– Bronze cast in Madrid (originally in the same state; arms have been

added in 1840)[4].– Two drawings by the Copenhagen draughtsman after P.P. Rubens (without either a head nor arms), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Box Tu Mag. XX, one in red chalk, pen and brown ink, 395 x 182/206 mm. (Rubens Atelier III, 65),[5] the other in black and red chalk, pen and brown ink, 257 x 154/160 mm. (Rubens Atelier, III, 66)[6].– On De Bisschop after Poelenburgh (same state as Copenhagen drawings), and on Kraus and Reinach after De Bisschop, see below.– Gori, *MF*, III, 1734, plate XXXI (restored with a modern head and arms and with an apple as a *Venus Victrix*), after a drawing by G.D. Campiglia in the Uffizi (inv. no. 5699 F, 335 x 210 mm., in vol. III of [Campiglia], *Disegni originali* ...– Clarac 597, 1305 = Reinach, *St.*, I, 320, 2, after Gori, with wrong plate reference.– Clarac 606, 1335 = Reinach, *St.*, I, 324, 4, after *RGF*, I, 1840, plate 39 (with the present head but restored as a *Venus pudica*).

This is a Roman copy, representing a variant of a standing, partly draped *Aphrodite*, of which it is uncertain how the missing parts of the garment would originally have been arranged.[7] It was restored on several occasions. If the above-mentioned sixteenth- and seventeenth-century drawings all show the antique *Aphrodite* in the state of restoration as it then was and if some of them do not reproduce a cast, then the statue had, around the middle of the sixteenth century, a head similar to the one on the Arezzo stucco and the Madrid cast, but did not have one at the beginning of the seventeenth century.[8] If, moreover, Baldinucci, in the life of Ercole Ferrata (posthumously published in 1728), refers to this *Aphrodite*, it must have been completed by 1677, since he says that after that date, Ferrata replaced its modern head, arms and feet by new ones.[9] Other authors of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, on the other hand, do not speak about replacements, only about additions (see below). The apple, which the statue holds in Gori's plate, is first mentioned in Richardson[10] and only from then onwards is the statue called a *Venus Victrix*. By 1840 (*RGF*), the seventeenth-century head had been replaced by the present one[11] and the rest of the statue restored into a *Venus pudica*. After 1945, the *Aphrodite* was brought to its present state.

The early history of the *Aphrodite* is obscure: a recent tentative identification with a statue, once in the Palazzo Pitti, mentioned by Pezzano (1577), and described by Vasari (1568) as "una altra Venere quasi simile alla prima" cannot be proved[12] – " la prima" being the "Venere che esce da un bagno, con un vaso a' pié e un panno sopra", reproduced in De Bisschop's plate 81. In 1677/78, A. Bassetti wrote to the Conte T. Montauti in Rome, that a cast which he had received, proved that an *Aphrodite*, then in the Tribuna, was the "decantata Venere di Belvedere" and that one therefore may conclude that it had been part of the gift which Pius IV made to the Grand Duke Cosimo.[13] Giovanni Cinelli, in his manuscript additions of *c.* 1680 to Bocchi-Cinelli (1677), says that the head, arms and feet of the Tribuna *Aphrodite* formerly in the Belvedere, were restored by Ercole Ferrata "alla maniera Greca", but mentions nothing about an apple or any additions to the garment.[14] In the life of Buontalenti, published in 1688, Baldinucci mentions the "Venere di Belvedere" as the largest of the three statues of *Aphrodite* then in the Tribuna[15] (which indeed applies to the statue under discussion), but only in his posthumously published life of Ercole Ferrata do we read that Ferrata replaced the bad earlier additions (see above) and made the missing parts of the garment "graciosamente rigirare sopra le braccia", that G.B. Foggini worked on the head, and that the statue had been in the Uffizi for more than seventy years, but there is still nothing about an apple.[16] If Mansuelli's transcription of the entry in the 1704 Uffizi inventory is correct, the over life-size statue restored by Ferrata had "un'panno nella destra" (in the 1753 inventory, "panno" is replaced by "pomo"). Whereas both Baldinucci and Maffei (who speaks of a *Torso*)[17] were convinced of the identity of the statue with an *Aphrodite* formerly in the Belvedere, the compiler of the index to the volume of Baldinucci's work was less sure. In Richardson, on the other hand, Ferrata is said to have restored the *Venus Urania* and Maffei's remark is also quoted as concerning the latter statue. Though the elder Richardson owned drawings and a cast of the *"Venus Victrix"*, his son, who had visited the Uffizi around 1720, probably mixed up the names,[18] since the *Venus Urania* (also called *Venus Caelestis*) was likewise in the Tribuna.[19] According to Gori (1734) and later authors, the *"Venus Victrix"* is the statue that Ercole Ferrata restored, adding,

among other parts, an apple.[20] If Bianchi (1759) was well informed, the cast, which was sent in 1677 from Rome to Florence, had neither a head nor arms.[21]

De Bisschop's plate:

The etching, which is not in reverse, shows a front and a side view side by side. Both arms are broken off, the feet and the base are restored in a way similar to their present state, but the head is missing. In the view on the right, part of a supporting slab of marble can be seen which also occurs, although in a different shape and size, in the stucco copy in Arezzo and in the bronze cast in Madrid, but which is no longer visible on the statue itself. It is possible that the seventeenth-century restorer removed the supporting slab when lengthening the garment, but it is also possible that he covered it with his additions to the garment.

The etching was made after drawings by Cornelis Poelenburgh, but neither these nor any intermediary drawings by De Bisschop can be traced. Poelenburgh must have made the drawings either in Rome somewhere between 1617 and 1622 or even later, or in Florence before or in 1620.[22] The reliability of his now lost drawings is attested – as far as the state of restoration at the time is concerned – by the two Copenhagen drawings mentioned above. Though with our present knowledge about the history of the *Aphrodite* it is impossible to say for certain whether the drawings show the statue or a cast, it seems very unlikely that both draughtsmen should have copied a cast. The statue is not included in De Bisschop's list of contents and locations, which means that he did not know what or where it was.

Copies of De Bisschop's plate:

Kraus, *Icones*, plate 45, in reverse.

Reinach, *St.*, II, 364, 5, freely copied after the left-hand view, in reverse.

1. The publications by Daly Davis, 1980, and Mosco, 1980 were unknown to the authors before their 1981 article on the "Aphrodite" went into print in April, 1979), see below, with note 12.
2. Van Gelder and Jost, 1981, fig. 2.
3. Keutner, op. cit., with ill. of the statue before and after the arms were taken off, of the Arezzo stucco (which the author considered to be Ammannati's "Restaurierungsmodell") and of the bronze cast in Madrid (which he attributed to Ammannati and dated 1559), see Van Gelder and Jost, 1981, p. 467.– A drawing by G. Vasari of a *Project for a small Antiquarium* in Budapest, and a copy of it in London, Soane Museum, include a statue which, if imagined in reverse, is similar to the Arezzo stucco, see Daly Davis, 1980, pp. 53-54, fig. 15 (the London copy).
4. Hallo, 1927, with ill. of the cast and of De Bisschop's etching; Blanco, *Cat. Prado*, I, 1957, p. 145, no. 171-E; Keutner, see note 3; Van Gelder and Jost, 1981.
5. The statue seen from about the same angle as the left-hand view on De Bisschop's plate; Miesel, 1963, fig. 17, unidentified; Van Gelder and Jost, 1981, fig. 3.
6. Three-quarter rear view; Van Gelder and Jost, 1981, fig. 5.
7. See Bernoulli, *Aphrodite*, 1873, pp. 252, 276-277 and 426, and Mansuelli.
8. Van Gelder and Jost, 1981, p. 468; see also below, with note 21.
9. Baldinucci, *Notizie*, fifth Epoch (1610-1670), 1728, p. 522, and index; see also Van Gelder and Jost, 1981, pp. 465-466.
10. Richardson, *Account*, 1722 and 1754, pp. 56-57, and "Addition", pp. 353-354; the French edition is shorter; both without reference to De Bisschop's plate.
11. On the present head see also our entry on *Icones* 81, and Van Gelder and Jost, 1981.
12. Daly Davis, 1980, pp. 40-42, and Mosco, 1980, p. 14; Vasari, list of statues, *Vite*, 1568, see Müntz, in *MémInstAcInscr*, 1896, p. 161.
13. Letter of 18.1.1677/78; ASF, Mediceo 3944; Lankheit, 1962, p. 255, doc. 127.– For Medici statues, mainly female ones, all restored, from the Vatican, see Michaelis, "Belvedere", *JdI*, V, 1890, pp. 44 and 66.
14. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, ms. Magl. Cl. XIII.34-c.245; kindly brought to our attention by Dr. H. Keutner and traced by Dr. H.C. Cassee; see also Van Gelder and Jost, 1981, p. 465.
15. Baldinucci, *Notizie*, second part of the fourth Epoch (1550-1580), 1688, p. 93.– The other two statues are the less than life-size *Venus de' Medici* and a *Venus Urania* (see below, note 19).
16. See note 9.
17. Maffei, 1704, col. 29; see also Van Gelder and Jost, 1981, p. 466, and Haskell and Penny, 1981, pp. 332-333 (with incorrect reference to Maffei's plate XXVII).

18. See note 10; Hallo, 1927, and Van Gelder and Jost, 1981, p. 467.
19. Inv. no. 251; both arms and the whole lower part of the statue with the garment are modern, the head (with a diadem, once gilt) is antique but alien; the statue, which was acquired in 1657 from the Palmieri family of Bologna, is said to have been restored by Ferrata's teacher A. Algardi (d. 1654); in the 1704 Uffizi inventory and in Gori it is called *Venus Caelestis* (plate XXX, p. X); De Monconys, *Journal des voyages*, II, 1666, p. 478, Dütschke, III, 1878, no. 504; Mansuelli, *Cat.*, I, 1958, pp. 97-98, no. 65; idem, *Cat.*, II, 1961, pp. 187 and 217; Haskell and Penny, 1981, pp. 320-321; Dütschke, Mansuelli and Haskell and Penny with additional information and literature; Van Gelder and Jost, 1981, p. 467; see also P. Pray Bober, "Francesco Lisca's Collection of Antiquities ...", *Essays in the History of Art presented to Rudolf Wittkower*, London, 1967, pp. 119-122, with fig. 5.
20. Gori, pp. IX and 38.
21. Bianchi, *Ragguaglio*, 1759, p. 206.
22. See Van Gelder and Jost, 1981, p. 470.

83 LEDA AND THE SWAN, probably a relief; present state, size and whereabouts uncertain; closest comes a relief in London, British Museum (see below).

De Bisschop's plate and text:
De Bisschop's plate, which is not included in his list of contents and locations, was made after a drawing by Cornelis Poelenburgh (in Italy from at least 1617 until 1622 or later, perhaps until 1625/26; in between he was in Florence around 1620).

There used to be a drawing of exactly the same group the same way round in the A. de Hevesy collection in Paris (*L'Amour de l'Art*, 1932, no. XII, p. 471, fig. 3, as Italian, sixteenth century), but as we know this only from the reproduction, we cannot say whether it is a copy after the etching or the model which De Bisschop used. If it was the model, then De Bisschop may have worked from a counterproof of it.

The composition is well known. There are, to start with, three antique marble reliefs and a statuary group which are more or less similar to De Bisschop's etching. They all show the group in the same sense as the etching, but differ from it and from each other in details like the attitude of Leda's head, the arrangement of her hair, the position of her left foot, the cloth over her knee, the attitudes of the swan's bill and foot, or in the palm-tree at the side. The two reliefs which come closest to De Bisschop's etching can hardly have been copied in drawings before the date of publication of the *Icones*. One of these is the relief, without a palm-tree, in the British Museum.[1] According to Smith, it is repaired but not restored and to be dated tentatively to the fourth-third centuries B.C. Also, according to Smith, it was purchased from Colonel de Bosset who obtained it at Argos in 1813. Only if this is incorrect (which cannot be proved), can the London relief be the sculpture in De Bisschop's etching.

The second relief, likewise without a palm-tree, is in the National Museum in Athens,[2] which can, however, be ruled out because of its provenance. The third relief has a palm-tree on the extreme left: Medinaceli collection, formerly Madrid, now Seville, Casa de Pilatos.[3] A Renaissance adaptation of it is inserted in a mantelpiece in the Palace of Charles V at Granada and would suggest that the Medinaceli relief was already in Spain by *c.* 1550.

A fourth marble relief (formerly in the Edouard Goldston collection, London) shows *Leda and the Swan* in reverse to De Bisschop's etching.[4] But the attitudes of the heads of both Leda and the Swan definitely preclude it from being the version De Bisschop copied, and this also applies to the statuary group, Venice, Museo Archeologico[5] in which *Leda* has her right arm stretched forward. Overbeck[6] thought that De Bisschop's etching shows "... ein etwas verschiedenes zweites statuarisches Exemplar ..., dessen Aufbewahrungsort aber nicht nachgewiesen werden kann, ...".

Furthermore, two drawings must be mentioned in this connection: one of them is in the so-called *Mantegna-Sketchbook* in the Berlin Kunstbibliothek, (OZ 111, fol. 91 recto)[7] and does not show a palm-tree. The second forms part of a sketchbook discovered by A. Parronchi, who kindly allowed us to mention it (334 x 218 mm., Fossombrone, Bibl. Passionei, part II, fol. 88 verso, attributed to, among others, Luca

Penni and dated around 1520). Here, Leda's left heel is lifted like in the London relief, but three sides of the group are framed by vine-motifs.

In Richardson[8] the sculpture reproduced by De Bisschop is identified as a "*Leda* with the Swan; Small; Grav'd by Biscop; Very fine; as indeed all in this Palace generally are", in the Chigi collection in Rome. It is not, however, stated whether this was a statuary group or a relief. Many, but not all the sculptures from the Chigi collection in the Palazzo Odescalchi near SS. Apostoli were bought in 1728 by R. le Plat for August II, King of Poland (as Friedrich August I, Elector of Saxony). These are now in Dresden, but the sculpture reproduced by De Bisschop is not to be found either in the inventory of acquisitions, or in R. le Plat, *Recueil des marbres antiques* ..., 1733, and is – as M. Raumschüssel informed us – certainly not in the present Dresden collection.[9] A *Leda* is mentioned in one of the Chigi inventories of 1705, but this must be the Dresden statue which is of another type.[10] No *Leda* appears in either the second Chigi inventory of 1705, or the 1770 and 1793 inventories.[11]

In a painting of *The Toilet of Bathsheba* attributed to Poelenburgh (which we know only from a reproduction), the group, seen from exactly the same angle as in De Bisschop's etching, though in reverse, and with the swan's head in a different attitude, appears as a freestanding sculpture as part of a fountain.[12]

Copy after De Bisschop's plate:
Reinach, *St.*, II, 416, 10, after De Bisschop, but in reverse.

1. Inv. no. 2199; Smith, *Cat. BM*, III, 1904, pp. 259 ff.; Reinach, *Rel.*, II, 482, 9; C. Madge, "Leda and the Swan", *The Times Literary Supplement*, 20.7.1962, and ibidem, 16.11.1962.
2. J.N. Svoronos, *Das Athener Nationalmuseum*, Athens, 1903, pp. 511 f., no. 191 [1499], plate LXXXI, as a work of the fourth century B.C.; Reinach, *Rel.*, II, 354, 5.
3. 53 x 47.5 cm., 4 cm. deep; Hübner, *Madrid*, 1862, p. 241, no. 558, on the origin of the collection and for earlier literature ibidem, p. 237; Overbeck, *Kunstmythologie*, I, pp. 502 ff.; Reinach, *Rel.*, II, 192, 5.
4. *L'Amour de l'Art*, 1932, no. XII, p. 471, fig. 5.
5. Clarac 412, 716 = Reinach, *St.*, I, 197, 6.
6. *Kunstmythologie*, I, pp. 502 ff.
7. From the Destailleur collection; Hübner, "Detailstudien", *RM*, XXVI, 1911, pp. 316 f.
8. *Account*, 1722 and 1754, p. 282, *Traité*, III, 1728, p. 524.
9. See *Doc. ined.*, II, 1879, pp. 175 ff.; Hettner, *Cat.*, Dresden, 1881, pp. III-V; Lanciani, *Scavi*, I, pp. 150-154; L. Guerrini, *Marmi antichi nei disegni di Pier Leone Ghezzi*, Città del Vaticano, 1971, pp. 31 f.
10. *Doc. ined.*, II, p. 178; Reinach, *St.*, I, 197, 7.
11. *Doc. ined.*, IV, 1880, pp. 399 ff.
12. Panel, 39.3 x 30.5 cm., collection of the Earl of Wemyss and March, Gosford, Longniddry, East Lothian; C. Thompson, *Pictures from Gosford House*, National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1957, p. 23, no. 37.

84 DRAPED FEMALE FIGURE, known as *"the Spinner"*.

The statue:
In the present authors' opinion: Marble, life-size, Rome, at the beginning of our century still in the Villa Borghese; parts of both arms were modern.
LIT.: Matz-Duhn, I, 1881, p. 440, no. 1534, described it as having a complete arm and a hand holding a "spindle".– When A. Flasch reproduced it ("Die sogenannte Spinnerin. Erzbild in der Münchner Glyptothek, ein Werk des Praxiteles", *Festschrift ... dem Prinzregenten Luitpold von Bayern zum 80. Geburtstage ... von der Universität Erlangen*, Erlangen, 1901, Philosophische Fakultät, IV.1, pp. 117-138), he showed it with its right hand broken off, but in 1974, we were only able to trace the head (attached to an alien bust; Moreno, 1977, fig. 26).

Another version of the statue, in Munich, was discovered in 1834. It was completed with a head modelled by Thorvaldsen and published by Flasch as a copy after an original of the fourth century B.C. which he attributed to Praxiteles. W. Amelung (review of Flasch's article in *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift*, 22,